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of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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Editorials

The Expansion of the Anglican Communion

IT is often characteristic of converts that they look with a jaundiced eye upon the church they have left, that their judgment of it is distorted, and their vision of its potentialities is short-sighted.

This was true of John Dryden (1631-1700), who in 1682 wrote *Religio Laici*, a defense of Anglicanism, and five years later, in *The Hind and the Panther* (1687), justified his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The fact that in 1685 James II, an ardent Roman Catholic, ascended the British throne, is thought by many critics to have had something to do with Dryden's shift to the Roman obedience. Writing in the last named work of the isolation and despicable condition (as he thought) of the Church of England, Dryden said:

To foreign lands no sound of Her is come,
Humbly content to be despis'd at home . . .

Yet twelve years later, in 1699, the S. P. C. K. was organized, and one year after his own death the S. P. G. was chartered. These two justly famous societies have spearheaded the expansion of the Anglican Church all over the world, and both are still "going strong."

Approximately a century and a half later, John Henry Newman (1801-1890) deplored the provincialism of the Anglican Church. Yet in the very year of the appearance of the fateful *Tract XC* (1841), and four years before his secession, the first public meeting on behalf of the Colonial Bishopricks Fund was held on April 27th. This project was initiated by Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London, and cordially supported by William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. It was attended by "all the bishops within reach of London, many lay peers, and many hundreds of the most distinguished of the clergy and lay members of the Church." In those days a few people in England could give a lot of money, and at that one meeting £80,000 or about \$400,000 was raised. William E. Gladstone (1809-1898) was there, spoke eloquently and served as one of the treasurers of the Fund from the beginning until his death.

In 1841 there were but ten Anglican bishopricks outside the British Isles (not counting those in the American Episcopal Church). They were, with the dates of their founding:

Nova Scotia, 1787; Quebec, 1793; Calcutta, 1814; Jamaica, 1824; Barbadoes, 1824; Madras, 1835; Australia, 1836; Bombay, 1837; Toronto, 1839; New Foundland, 1839.

The American Episcopal Church, although it had 27 dioceses with 21 bishops, was still a very small affair, with only 1,059 clergy and 55,000 communicants. Only one out of every 307 people in the United States was a communicant of it.

Thus, in 1841, the Anglican Communion outside the British Isles numbered only 37 dioceses and less than that number of bishops.

Fifty years later, at the Jubilee meeting of the Fund, on June 19, 1891, Gladstone at the age of eighty-two again spoke for nearly an hour. The 10 overseas dioceses of 1841 had increased to 82, sponsored by the Mother Church. In addition, the American Episcopal Church had 52 dioceses, 17 missionary districts, 73 bishops, 4,203 clergy, and 531,525 communicants. The latter were almost ten times as many as fifty years before, and, whereas in 1841 the ratio of communicants in the civil population was only 1 to 307, in 1891 it had improved to one communicant in every 118 of the civil population.

By 1891, then, the 37 dioceses of 1841, outside the British Isles, had increased to 151 jurisdictions, with about as many bishops; and no less than 130 were grouped in eight self-governing provinces. New Zealand, as an example, which had been one of the first to be set up as a diocese with 12 clergy in 1841, was in 1891 a province of six dioceses and 254 clergy.

Meanwhile, in 1867, the Lambeth Conference had been organized. At that time there were 144 Anglican bishops in the British Isles and overseas. Seventy-six of these, of whom 47 came from outside the British Isles, attended that Conference. When the eighth Lambeth Conference convened in 1948, some 326 bishops attended.

In 1908, the first Anglican Congress assembled in London. In addition to the bishops of the Anglican Communion having jurisdiction, representatives of both priests and laity attended. But the total present, of whom a relatively small number were *official* delegates, was very impressive—some 7,000, from all parts of the world.

World Wars I and II interrupted the assembling of the second Anglican Congress, but it is now—46 years later—to meet this year, August 4-13, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, with the American Episcopal Church as the host. As the first such Congress to meet outside the British Isles, it is very significant. Bishops, priests, and laymen from

327 dioceses will represent fourteen autonomous Churches throughout the world, and many dioceses not yet having attained that status:

England; Wales; Scotland; Ireland; Canada; the United States; the West Indies; South Africa; West Africa (the latest province to attain autonomy); China; Japan; India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon; Australia and Tasmania; and New Zealand.

These delegates will represent some 30,000,000 baptized members of a truly world-wide Communion, a family of Churches, which the Lambeth Conference of 1930 defined as a

"Fellowship within the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces, or Regional Churches in communion with the see of Canterbury."

We have no reason for resting on our oars. We have no justification for complacency. Like every other Church in Christendom, we are engaged in a life and death struggle with secularism, which we have expounded in the last editorial in this issue. But, under God, in view of what the record shows in the last two and one-half centuries, and especially during the last hundred years, we are justified in borrowing a phrase from secularism, and saying to friend and foe alike:

"Do not sell the Anglican Communion short!"

WALTER H. STOWE.

Anglican Unity¹

A CORRESPONDENT in one of the English Church papers observed last winter that elusiveness seems to be of the essence of the spirit of Anglicanism. The remark was meant as a modest rebuke to those who attempt to say immediately and firmly what is or is not permissible in a Church of the Anglican Communion.

One can perhaps describe if not formally define; it would be hard to welcome a Church into the Anglican family which was not scriptural, episcopal and sacramental, and which did not cherish the forms of liturgical worship and remain loyal to the ancient Catholic creeds.

¹Reprinted from *Pan-Anglican: Review of the World-Wide Episcopal Church* (Hartford, Connecticut, October, 1953), pp. 7-8, by permission of the editor, the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut. The writer of the editorial, the Rev. Dr. Hardy, is professor of Church History, Berkeley Divinity School; assistant editor of *Pan-Anglican*; and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.—*Editor's note.*

But not every Church so described is at once Anglican, nor need desire to be. We hope that this describes the Old Catholics with whom we are in communion, yet without their being part of our Communion; we hope that this describes, or will describe, others too with whom such relations will be possible in the future. But our unity is not based on any formal statement of principles, or even on any quality or *ethos* as such. It is based on historic facts, and such facts as constitute a family of any kind. Partly by migration, partly by the work of missions, our Communion has spread over the world from the ancient Churches of the British Isles.

So the Congress at Minneapolis next August will have above all the character of a family gathering, meeting to discuss matters of common interest to the family, as a unit which has grown in the providence of God within the larger unity of the Church Universal. The interest which churchmen over the world have found in the family news of this review is a sample of our family spirit. The common worship, discussion, and fellowship of next August's gathering from all parts of the Anglican family will help to cement this still further.

EDWARD R. HARDY.

Anglican Attitudes²

THERE are those for whom, both in life and thought, a precise answer to every question and a sharp decision between every pair of alternatives is an intellectual and moral necessity. But such to our mind is not the true spirit of the Catholic Church, though it may be the attitude of some individual churchmen.

Since the time of Queen Elizabeth I, the Anglican Communion has puzzled many observers in other parts of Christendom, and some of its own children, by its refusal to admit that one must decide between Protestantism and Catholicism. Even in the 1560's, John Knox observed from across the border that the Queen of England was neither honest papist nor forthright Protestant. "God knows," he added, "what is the third." We would not use precisely his terms, but we do believe that there is a third—the inclusive harmony of a Church that is both Catholic and Evangelical, and finds that each element truly enriches the other.

²Reprinted by permission from *Pan-Anglican*, October, 1953, pp. 8-9. See above, Note #1.

These are familiar thoughts, doubtless, to most of the readers of *Pan-Anglican*. They were brought again to the mind of the writer of this editorial by a theological conference at which one speaker maintained that in the 16th century men had been called to choose between the sacrificing priesthood of mediaeval Catholicism and the Reformed ministry of the Word. This is what the Anglican Ordinal refuses to do; it continues the "Order of Priests" as it has come to us "from the Apostles' time," and insists that this must also be the Evangelical Ministry. Here, as in many areas of religious life, our principle is "both" and not "either." Let us hope that we can preserve this "bothness" in a spirit of humility—watching for our own particular danger, which is perhaps the temptation to be content with a weak compromise between two strong Christian traditions—and holding on to our treasures as not in any possessive sense "ours," but rather as signs of the way that God has laid hold on us to use for His work, for the unity of His people and the redemption of mankind.

EDWARD R. HARDY.

Anglicanism and Repentance³

LAST autumn [1952] there appeared in a leading non-denominational American magazine a report on the Lund Conference on Faith and Order, prefaced with the headline, "Lund Faith and Order Debates Fail to Break Unity Stalemate." On the same page were excerpts from "A Word to the Churches" which will form the introductory chapter to the final report of the meeting. In this was the following sentence, "The word 'penitence' has been often on our lips here at Lund." It seems to be taken for granted that the first step towards church unity is a sincere and hearty repentance all around.

In a conversation recently, a learned colleague of this writer remarked, "About the only thing on which all agree is that Anglicans should repent. We do so regularly in our services, and our brethren of other communions are quick to agree that we should."

Now no one questions the fact that our unhappy divisions are a sin against the Body of Christ and that we should all repent. But just what is it that we Anglicans should be penitent over? Surely not over

³Reprinted by permission from *Pan-Anglican* (Easter, 1953), pp. 4-5. See above, Note #1. The Rev. Dr. Cook, the writer of the editorial, is professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament, Berkeley Divinity School, and assistant editor of *Pan-Anglican*.—Editor's note.

insisting upon adherence to the Bible as the final authority in matters of faith and doctrine, to the historic creeds, to the historic sacraments, to the historic three-fold ministry! Just what would we substitute for them? Some formula that would attempt to include all and satisfy none?

Are we to repent of holding fast to what all agree are fundamentals, even though some would state them differently? Anglicans have never been noted for their rigid insistence upon matters of interpretation as long as the basic principles of the faith have been maintained. It seems to the writer that we might well challenge dissenters to show us "a more excellent way."

Indeed, we might well repent of a certain smugness and lack of devotion to what we profess, something which may be in part due to the position we hold with reference to other groups, for, with the exception of England and Wales, Anglicans represent only a small minority of the total population, and we are the target of much criticism. To the "Liberal Protestants" we appear to be reactionary, and to the "Fundamentalists" dangerously liberal. The Orthodox consider us insufficiently conscious of correct doctrine. All Protestants look upon us as too "Catholic," and the Roman Catholics think of us as just another variety of "non-Catholics."

We are aware of these criticisms, and consequently we may be too diffident in the matter of bearing witness to our firm adherences to the historic faith along with the freedom which each Anglican has of interpreting that faith in the light of the wisdom vouchsafed to him by the Spirit.

By all means let Anglicans repent of anything which stands in the way of attaining unity in the Body of Christ. But let those who seem to think that Anglicans should lead the way to the "mourners' bench" say exactly what the points are for which we should do penance.

ELMER J. COOK.

An Example of Anglican Good Faith

AN EVENT which took place six years ago is an historic illustration of the points made in the three preceding editorials by Drs. Hardy and Cook. It is also an example of Anglican good faith. This was the bestowal of the apostolic succession upon the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, the Philippine Independent Church, by three bishops of

the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, which latter title will be clearly understood if we shorten it to the "American Episcopal Church."

The story has already been told in the pages of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*,⁴ to which for more details the reader is referred. The initial negotiations between the two Churches were conducted through the good offices of the Rt. Rev. Norman S. Binsted, Bishop of the Philippines; he presented the petition to the House of Bishops of the American Church; and the latter, on November 6, 1947, with only one bishop voting in the negative, approved the petition, and authorized the Presiding Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, "to take the necessary steps to convey valid consecration to the episcopate of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente." The Presiding Bishop accordingly took order for the consecration of

Mons. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., Obispo Maximo of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, and Bishop of Manila and Quezon Cities; Mons. Manuel N. Augilar, Bishop of Laguna; and Mons. Gerardo M. Bayaca, Bishop of Tarlac and Zambales.

On April 7, 1948, in the Pro-Cathedral of St. Luke, Manila, the three above named prelates were consecrated by Bishop Binsted as consecrator; and by the Rt. Rev. Robert F. Wilner, Suffragan Bishop of the Philippines, and the Rt. Rev. Harry S. Kennedy, Bishop of Honolulu, as co-consecrators.

This was done, be it noted, *without* requiring (1) that the Philippine Independent Church lose its independence by merging with the Episcopal Church, or (2) that it even enter into a concordat with the latter. It was done on the sole condition that the Philippine Independent Church accept the same terms of trusteeship which history has placed upon the Anglican Communion, and by which, in all its branches, it is bound—namely, the historic creeds, the historic scriptures, the historic sacraments, and the historic three-fold ministry.

This bestowal of the apostolic succession was, for the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, the end of a quest which began before 1902, when about a hundred priests and hundreds of thousands of lay members seceded from the Roman Catholic Church because of what they considered the hopelessness of reform in the Philippine part of it. It was and is living evidence of Anglican good faith, of its willingness to bestow

⁴Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., Obispo Maximo, "The Iglesia Filipina Independiente," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVII (1948), 132-137; Norman S. Binsted, "Statement Concerning the Philippine Independent Church," *ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

the apostolic succession upon any church which will accept the same terms of trusteeship, and that without any necessity of being absorbed into its family of Churches.

"The Iglesia Filipina Independiente has a membership of approximately two million baptized persons, and its activities extend over the whole Archipelago of the Philippines. Its services are conducted in more than two thousand churches and chapels. For the most part, these are modest buildings. While its adherents come from all classes of society, it has appealed most strongly to farmers and artisans."⁵

WALTER H. STOWE.

Bishop Binsted—Missionary Statesman!

THE first General Convention to which the writer had the privilege and responsibility of being a deputy was that of 1928, in Washington. He still thinks it outranks any of the eight which he has attended in that capacity. It finished the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, which had been in process for fifteen years, and gave us the "Prayer Book of 1928," by which name it is generally known. In spite of the present agitation for further revision, we still think it is one of the very best Prayer Books, if not the best, in the whole Anglican Communion.

The whole setting was inspiring. We were in the capital of the nation; the opening service was in the open, on the grounds of the National Cathedral; the President of the United States—Calvin Coolidge—addressed the huge congregation; and one of the very greatest sermons ever heard at the opening of any General Convention was preached by Bishop Charles P. Anderson of Chicago. The subject was timely then, in view of the bitter political campaign in the offing; it is timely now, and will be tomorrow. It was: "A Free Church in a Free State." Bishop Anderson was at the time suffering from angina pectoris, but one would never have known it from seeing and hearing him. His presence was impressive; his delivery superb. He had committed his sermon to memory, but it seemed to be as spontaneous as an extempore sermon.

Not the least of the actions of the General Convention of 1928 was the election of a young priest, Norman Spencer Binsted, who had just

⁵Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., Obispo Maximo, "The Iglesia Filipina Independiente," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI, (1948), 132-137; Norman S. Binsted, "Statement concerning the Philippine Independent Church."

celebrated his 38th birthday, as the first missionary Bishop of Tohoku, Japan, and who was consecrated on December 3rd of that year.

In 1940, after twelve years in that jurisdiction, he was forced to leave by the Japanese government, as were all other "foreigners." At the age of fifty, it looked as though Bishop Binsted's greatest usefulness was over, and he would have to be "put out to pasture."

But in that very year, Bishop Mosher of the Philippines, because of age and ill health, had resigned his jurisdiction. The House of Bishops did a very wise thing. It placed Bishop Binsted in temporary charge of the Philippines, and then in 1942 elected him to the jurisdiction. Thus, as we can now see, his greatest usefulness to the Church was before him. When the occupation of the Philippines began in the closing days of 1941, the bishop's knowledge of the Japanese language and of the ways and character of the Japanese people, turned out to be providential. Although they did not arrest and imprison the bishop, they did most of his clergy and many lay people. To aid them, he risked his life, for if he had been caught in his continuing attempts to relieve their sufferings, his life would have been forfeit.

The coming of peace in 1945 brought him no rest. The shattered jurisdiction had to be rebuilt; the imprisoned American clergy for the most part had to be sent home to recuperate, and others had to be obtained to fill their places; the physical fabric, ruined in many areas, had to be reconstructed. Yet in spite of the war, during the twelve years, 1940-1952, the number of Church members increased from 21,295 to 31,133, a net gain of 9,838 or 46.1 per cent; the number of communicants, from 8,455 to 14,958, a net gain of 6,503 or 76.9 per cent. By any standard, this is a remarkable record, and a testimonial to the quality of his leadership.

On top of all this, he found time to carry through to a successful conclusion the negotiations, on the one hand, with the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, discussed in the preceding editorial, and with our American House of Bishops on the other. We do not know the situation at the Philippine end well enough to comment upon it, but that the end-result is great good will on both sides is evidence of his ability, patience and skill. That our House of Bishops approved them with but one dissenting vote is proof enough of the soundness of his statesmanship, for that House seldom achieves such a thumping majority.

As we sat in the joint session of the two Houses during the General Convention of 1952 in Boston, which was concerned with our over-

seas missions, and saw and heard the Bishop of the Philippines, we said to ourself:

"Here is a missionary statesman of our own generation, whose leadership is too little known and appreciated by the rank and file of the clergy and laity. Here is a bishop who has suffered. Here is a man who bears on his body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

W. H. S.

A Letter from the Editor of the "Church Quarterly Review"

39, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
London, England.
2nd March, 1954.

My Dear Canon Stowe,

I hope it will not seem to be an intrusion if I write a line of sincere thanks to you for bringing to my notice the excellent HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I wish you every success with it. I have already mentioned it to some of my friends.

I am reading with keen interest your brief history of the Episcopal Church.⁶ I intend to refer to it in my April editorial notes. The history of your Church is most significant.

What a lot of trouble over Seabury's consecration. It makes strange reading today. I believe I once published in *The Guardian*—of which I was editor—some account of Routh, the veteran President of Magdalen College, Oxford, as a theologian who helped you with advice at that time.⁷ Or is my memory at fault?

I have read with emotion the "Conclusion" of your history.⁸

We have indeed a hard struggle.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

PAUL SHUFFREY,
Editor.

⁶Walter H. Stowe, *The Episcopal Church: A Miniature History* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society Publication No. 15, Second Edition, 1952) pp. 64.

⁷See R. D. Middleton, *Dr. Routh* (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1938) pp. 278; also by the same author, *Magdalen Studies* (London, S. P. C. K., 1936), Chapter I, "Martin Joseph Routh (1755-1854)," pp. 1-28.

⁸See immediately following, where the "Conclusion" is reprinted.

The Conclusion of "The Episcopal Church: A Miniature History"⁹

AT "HALF PAST FIFTY," Christianity all over the world is in a life and death struggle with secularism. While secularism, strictly speaking, is a philosophy of life which rejects all forms of religious faith and worship, it possesses in Communism, its deification, attributes of religious zeal and devotion, rising at times to fanaticism, and proclaiming science as its messiah. All fear of God has been thrown off by millions of people, and in its place man is creating a world in which fear of the future, of man for man, is more terrifying than any fear of the hereafter which the fire and brimstone preachers in their palmy days were ever able to generate.

In this struggle, the American Episcopal Church, along with all other American Churches, has both a national and an international responsibility. To an Anglican, as to an American Episcopalian, the word "Protestant" is an adjective, signifying that the Church always stands under judgment and is always in need of reform. We hope that it is apparent to readers of this book that the Episcopal Church is conscious of standing under judgment and of always being in need of reform. Its very controversies, its Evangelical Movement, its Oxford Movement, its Broad Church Movement, and all that followed in their train are testimonies to its consciousness of always being in need of reform.

We hope, also, that it is clearly evident that this Church, with all its faults, is infinitely stronger today than it was at the end of the Revolutionary War, and therefore better able today to discharge its responsibilities to America and the world than it was in the former time. Since God in His wisdom elected to save this Church from "annihilation," it would appear that it has certain values to contribute to America and the world, which no other Church was quite able to supply. Perhaps its example of unity in diversity, its respect for authority combined with freedom of the individual, its doctrine of tension (i. e., in cases of controversy, not splitting up into sects, but of waiting patiently for the Holy Spirit to reveal the truth) are three such values.

The genius of the Anglican Communion in general, and of the American Episcopal Church in particular, is its stress on "balance," and is well summed up in some lines of Robert Bridges from his *Testament of Beauty*:

⁹For source, see above, Note #6.

We sail a changeful sea through halcyon days and storm,
and when the ship laboureth, our steadfast purpose
trembles like as the compass in a binnacle.
Our stability is but balance, and conduct lies
in masterful administration of the unforeseen.

W. H. S.

The Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908

By Robert S. Bosher*

"From east and south the holy clan
Of Bishops gathered, to a man;
To Synod, called Pan-Anglican,
In flocking crowds they came."

It was in 1868 that W. S. Gilbert published the first *Bab Ballads*, and incidentally popularized in the Victorian world a new ecclesiastical adjective, "Pan-Anglican." A public which, the year before, had barely noticed the small gathering of English and overseas bishops at the first Lambeth Conference, now took vast delight in the fabulous exploits of Peter, bishop of Rum-ti-Foo, whose people "played the eloquent tum-tum, and lived on scalps served up in rum—the only sauce they knew." For the next two generations, "Pan-Anglican" was consecrated as a familiar but slightly esoteric word with decidedly comic overtones.

But in 1908 the term "Pan-Anglican" came into its own, by virtue of the extraordinary impression made on the public mind by the Church Congress held in London that year. Today, when international religious gatherings are a commonplace, it is hard to credit the interest and excitement which the event aroused. Its fame is partly to be explained by the fact that the Pan-Anglican Congress was the first of the great world-wide representative assemblies, meeting not to legislate for a specific purpose, but to confer on general problems and to explore the relation of Christian faith to the complexities of modern life.

The historic importance of the Congress was fully appreciated at the time. "It is a gathering," declared Randall Davidson,¹ "which in its conception and character is absolutely without precedent in the history of Christendom. . . The epoch of our Church's expansion over the round world is also the epoch when for the first time—by modern facilities of travel and post and printing press—such a gathering as this

*The Rev. Dr. Bosher is professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary, and author of *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951).—Editor's note.

¹DAVIDSON, Randall Thomas (1848-1930), archbishop of Canterbury, 1903-1928. [See *Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed. (London and New York, 1948) pp. 174-176.]

has become possible." Bishop Winnington-Ingram's² verdict was that "the Pan-Anglican Congress has undoubtedly struck the imagination and even awed the spirit of Londoners in a way which nothing of the kind has done in our generation."

Indeed, something almost akin to awe was voiced by the secular press. On the eve of the Congress, the *Daily Telegraph* could write: "London has hardly awakened to the colossal character of this extraordinary undertaking." *The Spectator* marvelled at "an event which, without any exaggeration of language, may be described as soul-stirring and awe-inspiring." The language of a leading article in *The Times* was hardly more restrained:

"It is the range of the subjects that astonishes the ordinary man; he begins to wonder whether all life is not somehow Anglican, as there seems to be little which the Anglican Communion considers to be outside the limits of its purview. Suddenly the English Church has impressed an often too indifferent public with the vigour of its purpose, and the greatness of its possibilities."

The superlatives went beyond all bounds. When one journalist proclaimed that "this is the newest of all Oecumenical Councils, the greatest of all historical time," the *Church Times* commented acidly, "the writer is careful not to commit himself to any implication that Anglican Congresses of pre-historic times were not even greater!"

The scope and impressiveness of the Congress were unquestionably due to the years of careful planning and organizing which preceded it. In the spring of 1902, the general secretary of the S. P. G.,³ Henry Hutchinson Montgomery,⁴ formerly bishop of Tasmania, preached the Society's annual sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, and made an eloquent plea for a world conference of Anglican dioceses. He urged that only through a general discussion of the problems faced in each area could the Anglican Communion arrive at a clear picture of its mission as a whole. The idea met with immediate response, but the practical difficulties of "so novel and bold a scheme" seemed formidable. It was only after months of hesitation that the Board of Missions of the Province of Canterbury agreed to appoint a committee which should

²WINNINGTON-INGRAM, Arthur Foley (1858-1946), bishop of London, 1901-1939. [See *Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed., pp. 669-670.]

³The S. P. G.: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701 by Thomas Bray, and itself the founder of most of the colonial parishes in America outside of Virginia and Maryland.

⁴Bishop Montgomery was secretary of the S. P. G., 1901-1918. [See H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the S. P. G., 1701-1950* (London, S. P. C. K., 1951) pp. 477ff.]

take all responsibility, financial and otherwise, for the Congress. Bishop Montgomery and Mr. Eugene Stock, chief executive of the Church Missionary Society, were appointed secretaries.

When the response of overseas dioceses proved favorable, the final decision was made in May, 1903, to hold a Congress "dealing with missionary and other questions affecting the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom throughout the world." The time was fixed for the month preceding the Lambeth Conference of 1908, and six delegates were formally invited from every Anglican diocese in the world to meet in London from June 15 to 24. No stipulation was laid down as to ecclesiastical rank or sex; it was required only that the delegates be accredited by the bishop of the diocese.

During the next five years an immense work of organization was methodically undertaken. The problem of finance was solved by obtaining from each diocese of the Mother Church ("by pistol to the head," admits Bishop Montgomery) a guarantee of £250 in the event of a deficit, and on such security the necessary sum of £6000 was raised by loan. The Church House, Westminster, provided a suite of offices, and as the volume of correspondence and paper work gradually increased, a staff of more than forty persons was needed to deal with the pressure of work. Some indication of its extent is revealed by the fact that from March to June, 1908, almost 30,000 letters were received and answered. A dozen items of descriptive literature were prepared and published; with no free distribution, more than three-and-a-half million copies were sold before the Congress opened. An efficient Hospitality Committee, headed by the Marquess of Salisbury, arranged free board and lodging in London for 600 of the delegates and for more than a 1000 guests; for many of these, hospitality in the great English country houses was provided during the month after the Congress. A separate committee of 150 prominent churchwomen, presided over by Mrs. Mandell Creighton,⁵ made careful preparation for the participation of women in the Congress.

Through all the period of organization, Bishop Montgomery remained the guiding spirit, and the smoothness with which the machinery

⁵Mrs. Mandell Creighton (*nee* Louise von Glehn) was the widow of one of the most distinguished Anglican historians, Mandell Creighton (1843-1901), bishop of London, 1897-1901. Mrs. Creighton was herself the writer of several books of history. In 1904, she edited *Historical Lectures and Addresses by Mandell Creighton*; and she wrote *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton* (2 vols., 1904). [See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 7, pp. 401-402; *Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed., pp. 168-169].

of the Congress took shape was largely due to his energy, tact, and foresight.

Preparation for the actual work of the Congress was no less thorough. There was no arbitrary decision on subjects for discussion, for early in 1903 all diocesan bishops were circularized with a brief questionnaire:

(1) What are the questions of supreme importance for the Church of God in your own region?

(2) What, in your opinion, are the greatest problems outside your own regions?

(3) What is the chief corporate duty of the whole Anglican Communion, acting as one, at this time?

To the gratification of the committee, the first reply received was from Bishop W. C. Bompas of the Arctic Circle, and others were soon pouring in. In their replies to the first and second queries, most bishops waxed eloquent; but perhaps something of the Anglican *ethos* was revealed when "none seemed able to answer the third question with confidence." The material obtained was arranged and summarized in a pamphlet, and despatched again to the dioceses for further consideration. The final results were placed in the hands of one of the ablest of the overseas prelates, Bishop Edwin James Palmer of Bombay, whose responsibility it was to fix the official agenda. To deal with the several major themes chosen, the Congress now divided into seven sections, each with its own chairman, vice-chairmen, and secretary. Experts were engaged by these sub-committees to produce a series of "Pan-Anglican Papers," which should provide material for study and lay a solid groundwork for the discussion planned. In all, thirty-eight of these Papers were issued, and the rising interest in the Congress was reflected in the sale of more than 300,000 copies. The *Pan-Anglican News-Sheet*, appearing monthly, kept the Church supplied with news of plans and developments.

So successful was the work of promotion that when the Congress opened, 300 applications had been received for places at the reporters' tables, and it was evident that the seven halls engaged for the week would hardly accommodate the influx of visitors. The Congress did, in fact, achieve a level of attendance which is probably without parallel in Anglican gatherings; morning meetings through the week averaged 6,000, while each evening crowds quickly filled the 13,000 available seats, with hundreds unable to gain admission.

Yet, as one reads the newspapers and periodicals of that summer of 1908, a suspicion grows that the source of the immense popular appeal of the Congress was not altogether what its promoters had en-

visaged. The date is significant; this was the high-noon of the Edwardian era, opulent, assured, and not a little intoxicated by the proud sense of imperial mission and destiny. The two Jubilee celebrations of the Queen Empress Victoria, the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902, were glorious memories, and England was well accustomed to impressive gatherings in the empire's capital which celebrated the far-flung dominion over palm and pine. But the imperial mood was chastened with a sense of moral responsibility and religious dedication. Rudyard Kipling's *Recessional* was barely ten years old, and Lord Curzon⁶ could address a book to all those "who shared his belief that the British Empire, after Providence, was the greatest force at work for the benefit of humanity." What more natural than that the Pan-Anglican Congress should be viewed as one more of these tributes to empire, this time in its spiritual aspect, celebrating the world-wide but peaceful conquests of the National Church? "The Church at home is sometimes reproached for being too parochial," declared a leading article in *The Times*, "but the Congress is bringing into it the glory and honour of the nations."

It must be confessed that the Congress itself gave evidence of some confusion on this score. One wonders whether annoyance ruffled the feelings of Presiding Bishop Tuttle⁷ and his fellow delegates of the American Church as they sang the official Congress hymns:

"God of our England's glory
And Empire near and far . . ."

"O Lord! we thank Thee on this day
For the deep joy when many meet,
Brethren from Britains far away
Who find the old Church sweet."

"He gathers and He scatters
To outposts of the Cross,
To blessed homes of England,
Where lonely oceans toss."

⁶CURZON, George Nathaniel (1859-1925), 1st Baron and 1st Marquis Curzon of Kedleston. English statesman who had served in India, 1891-1905—the last six years as viceroy and governor general. [See any encyclopedia.]

⁷TUTTLE, Daniel Sylvester (1837-1923) was at the time of the First Anglican Congress bishop of Missouri, 1886-1923, and Presiding Bishop, 1903-1923. He had been the first missionary bishop of Montana, Utah and Idaho, 1867-1880 and of Utah and Idaho, 1880-1886—when the West was really "wild and woolly." He had the longest episcopate in the history of the American Episcopal Church—two weeks short of 56 years, and was the consecrator of 80 bishops of the American Church. [See Edward L. Parsons, "Bishop Tuttle—A Portrait," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* . . . , XVII (1948), pp. 140-150; Kenneth L. Holmes, "Bishop Tuttle in the West," *ibid.*, XXIII (1954), pp. 54-64.]

When they read some of the Church papers, the republican visitors must have felt uncomfortably like guests without a wedding garment. With considerable dexterity, *The Guardian* by-passed the anomaly of their presence:

"The members of the Conference belong to one religious body, and that body the Church of an Empire cemented in a blood relationship which has made all the larger interest of the parts the concern of the whole Empire. The Pan-Anglican Congress has been gathered from the four corners of the earth to discuss the work which lies before the English Church in its paramount share of the duty of evangelizing the world."

These and similar utterances, however, aroused the angry protest of the *Church Times*. It deplored "the imperialistic idea presented to English Churchmen on the highest authority," and warned that the result of the Congress might be the growth of an imperialistic as opposed to a Catholic conception of the Church—"National pride, imperialistic dreams, political aspirations, have been worked upon, conjointly with missionary zeal, until we might almost be convicted of reading the divine injunction, *Tu es Britannia, et super hoc imperium aedificabo ecclesiam meam.*"

But the great opening service of the Congress, held in Westminster Abbey on Monday, June 15, was conceived in another spirit. The executive committee was concerned that the Congress should not be made the occasion of self-congratulation and complacency, and determined that a great corporate act of penitence and supplication at the very beginning should establish the proper note of humility. Admission to the Abbey was by membership card only, but long before noon every seat was filled, and arrangements were hastily made for an overflow service in St. Margaret's Church in the Abbey precincts. Shortly before the hour the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended only by his chaplains, entered the sanctuary. Since a procession of bishops in *magpie*⁸ is normally held to lend an air of restrained festival to such occasions, the committee ruthlessly excised it, and this omission occasioned universal astonishment. The service opened as the dean, chapter, and choir proceeded through the nave to their stalls, solemnly chanting the *Miserere*. Then followed the singing of the Litany, with special suffrages for the work of the Congress, and an anthem, "O, Lord my God, hear thou the prayer thy servant prayeth." In place of a sermon the

⁸"*Magpie*": A popular designation of a bishop's vestments of rochet (white, usually of lawn) and chimere (usually black in color), after the black and white plumage of the bird of that name.

dean read a bidding prayer composed for the occasion, with an interval of silence after each clause. The prayer closed with the summons:

"Let us pray for the Anglican Communion in all parts of the world, that we may understand the mission which God has entrusted to us, and our duty to those who are separated from us, that we may penitently recognize our failings and humbly go forward in unity and love to the fulfillment of our common work."

The archbishop then dismissed the congregation with his blessing. The unusual character of the service, its quality of simplicity and penitence, made a deep impression; as one paper interpreted it, "The Church has not gathered itself in imposing numbers in the greatest capital city in the world to boast, but to admit its shortcomings, to consider how they might be amended, to make good and fruitful resolutions for the future."

In the evening, the archbishop addressed crowded meetings in the Albert Hall and at the Church House:

"Our purpose is illimitably great. He who runs may read it in the very titles and subjects of our debates. For each in succession we have to think out deliberately and prayerfully what is it we aim at doing. . . . Hence the rightness of the pains we are taking at this Congress that its keynote shall be 'Think out your Faith and its application.' We want everybody who attends this Congress to be abreast of the subjects we are considering, or at the least to be set upon the lines of right thinking and right learning about past history, present facts, and dawning opportunities . . . If we enter upon it in the fulness of loyal devotion to Him whose name we bear, it will reveal to us the greatness of our heritage, and then it will inspire us to be up and doing in the Master's service. 'It is not a vain thing for us; it is our life.'"

The Congress now settled down to its appointed work, and as it did so, many of the delegates experienced a feeling of bewilderment and frustration at the vastness and complexity of the program. I have come expecting to attend a Congress," complained one of them, "and I find that there are seven Congresses." It was literally true that no one person could hope to be present at more than a seventh part of the proceedings, since all the sections met concurrently. And as *The Guardian* pointed out:

"To follow the work of a single section continuously would be no slight undertaking. At each of its sittings, the number of the selected speakers is considerable. The time allotted to them is exceedingly short, since it is understood that the hearers

have already made themselves familiar with the published literature issued, and that what is wanted is the highly-condensed result of thought and experience. What has not been contributed by the selected speakers will, it is hoped, be elicited by means of the discussions. But all this must make a severe demand upon the attention and intelligence of those who are present."

The scope of the subject matter to be covered in a week was certainly formidable, as the program outline will indicate:

SECTION A. *The Church and Human Society*: Marriage in Christendom; Marriage in Heathendom; Sweated Industries; Housing and Family Life; Drink Traffic; Gambling and Speculation; Capital and Labour; Monopolies; Christianity and Socialism; What is now Practicable in Socialism?

SECTION B. *Christian Truth and Other Intellectual Forces*: Christian Revelation and the Similar Claims of other Religions (Christ and other Masters, Inspiration, Revelation); Christian Philosophy in Contrast with Christian Science, Agnosticism, Pantheism; Christian Morality as Criticized in the East and in the West; Religion and Science; Religion and the Press; Critical Study of the Bible.

SECTION C. *The Church's Ministry*: Holy Orders; Vocation, Recruiting, Training, Appointment, Patronage, Distribution of Spheres, &c.; Priesthood of the Laity; Rights and Duties of the Laity, Church Government, Parochial Councils, Synods; Organization and Development of Men's Ministry; Training of Teachers; Ministry of Women; Church Finance.

SECTION D. *The Church's Mission in Non-Christian Lands*: Claims of Non-Christian World; Missionary Methods, Evangelistic, Educational, Medical, Industrial, Literary, Pastoral; Missions and Governments; Opium and Liquor Traffic; Caste, Ancestral Worship, &c.; Status of Women, Polygamy, Child-Marriage, &c.; Education of Women and Girls; Strategic Problems; Comity of Missions; Presentation of the Christian Faith to Non-Christian Minds; Equipment of Workers, Foreign and Native; Co-ordination and Administration of Missions; Home Work for Missions.

SECTION E. *Missions in Christendom*: Church Work among Settlers; Church's Duty to her 'Exiles', Officials, Planters, Workmen, Soldiers, &c.; Church's Responsibility towards Aborigines; Church's Opportunity amongst Coloured Labourers; Race Problems; Missions to Jews.

SECTION F. *The Anglican Communion*: Its place in Christendom; Things Essential and Non-Essential; Historic Episcopate; Possibilities of Intercommunion and Reunion; Local Churches, Equipment and Organization; Native Episco-

pate; Relations of Organized Churches to Whole Communion; Question of a Central Authority.

SECTION G. *The Church's Duty to the Young*: Secular and Religious Education; Secondary, Elementary, Sunday Schools; Preparation of the Young for Church Work; Recreation and Social Well-being of the Young; Material Well-being.

Many people felt then and subsequently that the ambitious attempt to deal with this massive agenda in so short a time proved a fatal weakness. The bishop of London had already warned: "The danger is lest in the number of meetings and the multiplicity of the subjects discussed, we may lose any connected and clear idea of what we are being taught, and be merely confused in our minds by a hurly-burly of speeches." For a good many delegates, this proved only too true a prophecy—there was a temptation to rush frantically from one meeting to another, to try and hear a little of everything. There was an intolerable sense of pressure, a longing for time to reflect and assimilate. *The Churchman* spoke for those following the work of the Congress from a distance:

"The effect of bewilderment already noticed on the part of those who attended the Congress is by no means absent from those who read the daily published proceedings, between thirty and forty pages of printed matter in double column space . . . Only by long and very painstaking investigations can this mass of material be used as a guide to the thought and the opinions of the whole Anglican Communion."

The problem had been to some extent foreseen, and in various ways the planning committee had hoped to obviate strain and confusion. The section meetings had been fixed in halls in widely separated districts of London, with the belief that visitors would be thereby encouraged to confine their attention to one section only. An unusual rule was laid down that the names of scheduled speakers should not be made known beforehand so that there might be no rushing from one place to another to hear the celebrities. The evening meetings were not held by the different sections simultaneously, like the morning sessions, but were designed as popular gatherings which should treat each one of the general subjects in turn. Punctuality was rigidly enforced at all meetings, and a speaker who exceeded his time suffered ruthless interruption by the chairman. Those who wished to join in the concluding discussion period were required to send up cards to the chairman, who, in consultation with the committee, decided which would be

the most valuable and representative speakers in the time available. Finally, it was decided that the doors should be closed at the beginning of every meeting, and the first half-hour given up to a devotional service, carefully prepared and unhurried, with prayers, Scripture reading, and brief periods of silence. Yet despite all these safeguards, the impression remains that the Congress was impeded and baffled by the abundance of its subject matter.

Since it is impossible to consider the work of all the sections, we may glance at the two subjects which aroused most interest and controversy at the time. The two final sessions of Section A were devoted to the topics, "Christianity and Socialism" and "What is now Practicable in Socialism?," and on both occasions the Albert Hall was packed to the doors. In view of what followed, it is ironical that the chairman of the first session should have been Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts,⁹ famous for his sponsorship of the view that "godliness is in league with riches."

Speaker after speaker urged in uncompromising terms that Socialism is the practical expression in modern society of the Christian ethic. Mr. Silas McBee of New York declared the permanent basis of Socialism to be the Christian principle of brotherhood; the Rev. A. J. Carlyle of Oxford defended the Socialist program as the only remedy for a crumbling civilization, and urged any "middle-class listeners" to "get outside of their class standpoint." Major W. F. Everett maintained that Socialism in his native land of Australia was founded on Christianity, and that in that nation the legislation of the Labour Party had been guided by God. Mr. E. G. Selwyn of Cambridge was clear that the spirit which animated the great bulk of the Labour Party was that of Isaiah, Micah, and Amos—a righteous demand for economic reconstruction. A colleague of the chairman's, Bishop Franklin Spencer Spalding of Utah,¹⁰ spoke in behalf of American Socialism, which he described as Marxian rather than Fabian; he asserted that the Church must accept the Marxian analysis of value. And a young deacon named William Temple¹¹ rose to say: "If Christianity is to be applied to the economic system, an organization which rests primarily on competition must give way to one which rests primarily on cooperation."

⁹LAWRENCE, William (1850-1941), seventh bishop of Massachusetts, 1893-1927. He was himself a rich man. The chief leader in the creation of The Church Pension Fund, which began operation on March 1, 1917.

¹⁰SPALDING, Franklin Spencer (1865-1914), was the third missionary bishop of Utah, 1904-1914. If not the only Socialist in the American House of Bishops, he was the only one who did not hide his candle under a bushel in that regard. [See John Howard Melish, *Franklin Spencer Spalding: Man and Bishop* (New York, 1917) pp. 297.]

Small wonder that Lord William Cecil complained that he felt "almost out of place in speaking as a person with no belief in socialism"; but the next speaker remarked kindly that Lord William's speech had "made a good foil to the splendid socialism of the Congress." In face of this virtual unanimity, it is understandable that the chairman's summary was lacking in detachment. With acerbity Bishop Lawrence noted that the subject had been handled largely by "clergymen and academics"; he could only wish that there had been some word from directors of corporations in which stocks and shares were held by middle and working class people. "These," he concluded, "might have given some information to temper our fine idealism."

This, and the similar debate in the evening, proved the sensation of the Congress. Canon Lloyd remarks that "in heaven the spirits of Maurice and Kingsley must have been singing the *Nunc Dimittis* with the heavenly choir"; but contemporary opinion was shocked, and the *New York Times* believed that "Englishmen must be as disturbed as Americans are by such portents." It reported a rumor that Anglican bishops would "never have promoted the Congress at all if they could have foreseen what has occurred." Another writer regretted that "nearly all the speakers were on one side, and their presentation of that side seemed to be marked by emotional eloquence rather than by clear thinking." In far-off Rome, the *Osservatore Romano*¹² pronounced that "religion without a legitimate hierarchy, although calling itself Christian, is a religion only for this world, as the debate in the Pan-Anglican Congress shows."

The other controversial session occurred in Section F, and dealt with the future organization of the Anglican Communion. Much anxiety had been aroused by proposals for the establishment of a central authority of one kind or another, and the debate promised to be of crucial importance. "Churchmen found themselves neglecting other meetings to which they had felt drawn," reported *The Guardian*, "in order to be at those where the discussion turned on their very right in the Church and as a Church to separate existence." In actual fact, the advocates of centralization proved much more moderate than had been feared. Canon Newbolt advocated a council of experts—theologians, lit-

¹¹TEMPLE, William (1881-1944) was the son of Frederick Temple (1821-1902), archbishop of Canterbury, 1896-1902. At the time of the Anglican Congress of 1908, William Temple was fellow and lecturer in philosophy at Queen's College, Oxford, 1904-1910. Headmaster of Repton, 1910-14; chaplain to the king, 1915-21; canon of Westminster, 1919-21; bishop of Manchester, 1921-29; archbishop of York, 1929-1942; archbishop of Canterbury, 1942-44. [See *Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed., pp. 597-600.]

¹²*Osservatore Romano* was the official organ of the Vatican.

turgiologists, and historians—which should have central authority in Anglicanism, but only in the form of “a consultative, advisory body.” Father Waggett thought a representative council might be useful, but warned that “a central authority would only be tolerable if it was acknowledged to be essentially unnecessary.” The dean of Aberdeen wanted “not a cast-iron papacy for the Anglican Communion, but a grand spiritual court of review.” Various colonial churchmen joined in urging that the Lambeth Conference be recommended to set up a permanent representative body with variously defined powers; the suggestion was even made that the title “Patriarch” be conferred on the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Edward M. Parker of New Hampshire¹³ was then moved to express an American viewpoint, and asserted roundly that “there was a great tendency in that Congress to identify the Anglican Communion with the British Empire.” “I do not say it is consciously done,” he continued, “but it seems to me that the best line for the American Church to take is to stand rather stiffly for the position of national Churches which do not belong to the British Empire.” The chairman, the bishop of Gibraltar, in summarizing the discussion hoped that no one would ever forget the rebuke given “so gravely and wisely and yet tenderly by the Coadjutor Bishop of New Hampshire,” and the debate closed. *The Churchman* noted with relief that “even those who advocated the creation of a central authority did not contemplate that authority as personal or autocratic.”

A number of peripheral meetings and activities rounded out the busy week. On one evening 8,000 women filled the Albert Hall to overflowing, and there was later an equally large and enthusiastic gathering of men. The versatile Mr. Arthur Balfour,¹⁴ former Prime Minister, made a much publicized address to the Congress on the subject of “Science and Religion.” A special meeting of nurses, some 700 in number, resulted in a large number of commitments to foreign service. On Saturday afternoon the Albert Hall was filled with children, chosen as delegates from schools throughout the London region.

Nor was there any lack of social diversion. The delegates tasted to the full that lavish and princely hospitality which was so noted a feature of Edwardian England. The official reception to the Congress took

¹³PARKER, Edward Melville (1885-1925) was the bishop coadjutor of New Hampshire, 1906-1914, and diocesan, 1914-1925.

¹⁴BALFOUR, Arthur James (1848-1930), 1st Earl of Balfour, was a noted English philosopher and statesman. He had been prime minister, 1902-1905. [See any encyclopedia.]

place at the great mansion of Knebworth Park outside London, where Lord and Lady Strathcona greeted 6,000 guests, borne thither in sixteen special trains. Delegates wandered through the gardens, where refreshments were served in vast tents, and the bands of the Royal Artillery and the King's Colonials played tunefully. That evening Lord Curzon of Kedleston presided over a banquet of welcome in the Savoy Hotel, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Herbert Asquith,¹⁵ hailed the Congress as one of the forces making for the peace of the world, by symbolizing the emancipating and unifying power of the Church. Still later in the evening the Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury held a splendid reception for 500 delegates, while those who preferred a Liberal to a Conservative peer attended a similar function at the home of Lord and Lady Brassey.

Later in the week, another great reception was offered to the foreign delegates by the Earl and Countess of Ellesmere at Bridgewater House, one of the historic London Mansions. But the climax came on June 25, when the Prince and Princess of Wales¹⁶ entertained all the Congress delegates at a resplendent garden party in the grounds of Marlborough House, and each in turn was presented to their Majesties King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, just returned from a state visit to the Tsar of Russia.

The last full day of the Congress, Tuesday, June 23, was given over entirely to devotional meetings. The full membership of 7,500 made any general gathering impracticable; so in the morning the Congress met in four divisions, each concerned with a separate aspect of the Church's call to a fully Christian life; the Call to Personal Consecration, to the Study of the Bible, to Intercession and Thanksgiving, and to Consecration of Substance. These themes were gathered up in a single afternoon meeting in the Albert Hall, centering on "the Church's Call to Service." A variety of distinguished speakers urged that the insights gained during the previous week be used to energize and enrich the Church's ministry in all areas of human life.

The concluding service of the Congress took place in St. Paul's Cathedral the following day, and was marked by the presentation of a great thank offering for the benefit of missionary work in all parts of the Anglican Communion. Unfortunately, this plan proved to be the one feature of the Congress which occasioned bitterness and sharp

¹⁵ASQUITH, Herbert Henry (1852-1928), 1st Earl of Oxford and Asquith, was prime minister, 1908-1916. [See any encyclopedia.]

¹⁶The Prince and Princess of Wales were to be, two years later, King George V (1865-1936) and Queen Mary. [See any encyclopedia.]

criticism. The offering was not designed to be a spontaneous expression of thankfulness at the actual time of the Congress, but had been raised by an energetic and competitive drive in each diocese beginning some months before. Not surprisingly, societies like the S. P. G. and the C. M. S. were at once faced with a disastrous drop in their regular receipts, and consequently urged their patrons to earmark all gifts to the thankoffering for their normal beneficiaries. The outcome was foreseen by *The Church Times*:

"There is no doubt that the offering at the altar of St. Paul's will be in large part no special offering, but an oblation of subscriptions previously pledged to other funds."

In actual fact, only one third of the total amount of £346,000 turned out to be already appropriated; but the high pressure methods employed in raising the fund in certain dioceses, and the known fact that money had been thereby diverted from normal missionary channels aroused resentment among even the staunchest supporters of the Congress. Dr. William E. Collins, the bishop of Gibraltar, expressed the feeling of many when he wrote bluntly: "The 'Thankoffering,' in the form which it actually assumed, was a real blot upon the whole Congress."

Despite this contretemps, the service at St. Paul's proved a moving and stately conclusion to the Congress. Great crowds assembled on Ludgate Hill to watch the procession of bishops and metropolitans, marshalled according to province, pass up the steps of the cathedral into the west portal—"infinitely more important in actual numbers and in all that they represented," noted one correspondent, "than any procession of past centuries that ever entered St. Paul's." "This imposing array of the generals of the Church militant" was met by the cathedral clergy and choir, and moved up the nave as the chanting of the Litany began. Something of the impression made by the service is suggested in an account written by the *Churchman's* correspondent:

"My pen trembles at its utter inability to convey any adequate idea of the scene when 8,000 worshippers were gathered within the walls of the cathedral—a thousand delegates, members of many races and colors, being massed together. Nor of the sound, when the swelling and falling tones of the organ were suddenly hushed as the faint echo of the Litany sounded from afar. The procession has never been equalled, even in St. Paul's majestic history, nor has the effect of the choristers' insistent reiteration, 'We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord,' ever been surpassed. Nor can that piercing note of the single

trumpet, breaking into the meditations of the waiting multitude, with Mendelssohn's triumphant air—"All that has life and breath, sing to the Lord"—ever be forgotten. Some thirty minutes were spent in placing on the altar the slips of parchment upon which were written the sums collected for the offering of Thanksgiving. Perhaps the most thrilling moment of the occasion was when the primates, metropolitans, and presiding bishops knelt, 'one solid mass of scarlet,' on the steps of the altar, as the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction from the highest step. The glorious *Te Deum* was in every sense a fitting conclusion. In the opinion of those who were present no official service held in the cathedral in the memory of man approached in magnificence and impressiveness this great public act of thanksgiving."

A correspondent of the *Church Times* wrote in similar fashion: "I am filled with the idea of having been present at the most imposing momentous service that the Church of England has ever held since the Gospel message first reached these shores."

It will be evident that for the Church the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 was in most respects an overwhelming success, and that its magnitude and scope also made considerable impression on the public. To assess its lasting significance in Anglican history is not so easy, for the aims of the Congress were general rather than specific—it was to be both "an exercise in fellowship on the grand scale" and "a full enquiry into what the Gospel for the twentieth century must be." "It was not intended," writes Bishop Collins, "to settle any particular question, much less to formulate decisions which should bind any of the Churches concerned: resolutions were not to be passed, nor was it proposed that any action should be taken which would have immediate or tangible consequences." More clearly than similar conferences in recent years, it recognized the fact of its unwieldiness and limitations, and did not allow an obsession with "resolutions" and "agreed reports" to distract it from the business of seeking enlightenment rather than unanimity. Its influence on the Church of its time remains, therefore, largely intangible and elusive.

Yet certain judgments are possible. Despite the imposing array of "experts," it seems clear that the Congress did not make any notable contribution to the theological and intellectual life of Anglicanism; at best, it served to popularize the considered views of these scholars in Biblical study, sociology, education, and the other fields considered. No single address stands out as really memorable, and later references to the Congress reports are almost non-existent. What was of value was

swallowed up in the bewildering mass of material collected. Few readers would be undaunted by the published record of the proceedings—in Canon Lloyd's description, "eight closely (and badly) printed volumes, now to be found on the bottom shelves in the darkest corners of libraries, with only spiders for company and the grime of years as embellishment." "They enshrine," he adds with feeling, "a voluminous spate of dead oratory."

The significant achievement of the Pan-Anglican Congress lies in another realm. It is related to the fact so often mentioned at the time—that the gathering was "unprecedented." In a striking way, it inaugurated a new stage in the self-realization of the Anglican Communion. Churchmen today are hardly aware that their conception of Anglicanism as a world-wide tradition and fellowship is an essentially modern idea. Barely sixty years before the convening of the Pan-Anglican Congress, an Archbishop of Canterbury had been wont to hold the consecrations of colonial bishops in the discreet privacy of his chapel before a handful of witnesses, with an embarrassed sense that the whole affair was eccentric and hardly respectable in a dignified Church Establishment. Only forty years before, Bishop Gray¹⁷ of South Africa had fought valiantly against the predominant view that his Church was a mere geographic extension of the Church of England, bound by all the legal restrictions of a distant Establishment, and incapable of spiritual autonomy.

But in the latter part of the nineteenth century an enormous expansion of Anglican organization and missionary effort took place; from 1845 to 1908 the number of dioceses outside the British Isles increased from 49 to 192, and the number of provinces doubled.¹⁸ The swiftness of this development over the span of a single lifetime was such that the sense of corporateness and solidarity lagged. An effort at self-realization and appraisal was long over-due, and no one can examine Volume VII of the *Report* and not be struck by the thoroughness with which the whole subject of the Anglican Communion was studied in the preliminary papers and discussed in the Congress sessions. Yet it was the total impact of the Congress—its multitude of delegates from distant lands, its vast range of interests, its manifestation of unity in diversity—which dramatized the reality of the Anglican Communion and

¹⁷GRAY, Robert (1809-1872), first bishop of Capetown, 1847-1872, and metropolitan of South Africa, 1853-1872. [See *Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed., pp. 256-7.]

¹⁸For additional data, see above, the first editorial in this issue, "The Expansion of the Anglican Communion."

impressed it upon the imagination of churchmen in a way never before possible. Mrs. Mandell Creighton expressed the general reaction: "The Congress has shown us what it means to be members of a great Church."

A new sense of unity, strength, and confidence was generated in the scattered branches of the Communion, and many outside it were made aware for the first time that "Pan-Anglicanism" had emerged as a major factor in world Christendom. "The sense of solidarity apparent from the outset was immensely strengthened as the Congress went on," observed *The Guardian*, and ventured the prophecy that "this most successful effort, original in its conception and magnitude, is yet only the beginning of a new order of things which must affect the whole Anglican Communion throughout the world." The completeness with which the Church did assimilate the new viewpoint and learn to take "Pan-Anglicanism" for granted helps explain why the first great expression of it soon faded from memory. But when the history of the Anglican Communion is written, the Congress of 1908 will surely take its place with the consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1784 and the first Lambeth Conference of 1867 as a crucial event in the story.

Bibliographical Note

The official proceedings of the Congress were issued in seven volumes under the title *Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908* (London, 1908), and include "speeches and discussions together with the papers published for the consideration of the Congress." Bishop Montgomery has contributed a useful survey of the whole enterprise in the introductory volume.

Valuable impressions of the Congress are given in Henry Scott Holland's "Romance in Gaiters," included in his *A Bundle of Memories* (London, 1915), and in an essay by Bishop W. E. Collins in *The Irish Church Quarterly*, Vol. I (1908), pp. 274-290. Some material is contained in *Bishop Montgomery: A Memoir*, by M. M. (Westminster, 1933).

There are extensive reports of the Congress proceedings and numerous leading articles in the contemporary issues of *The Church Times* and *The Guardian* in England, and in *The Living Church* and *The Churchman* in America.

A recent account, brief but suggestive, is in Roger Lloyd's *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 198-203.

R. S. B.

Tithe Reform in the English Church, 1830-1836

By Robert T. Turner*

IAM an honest friend of the Church." No statement in the House of Lords in the 1830's gave rise to so much nervous apprehension on the ecclesiastical bench as did this opening apology of what often became a jeremiad against the Established Church. And the noble lords heard it only too often in those days when long-established institutions were the targets of zealous reformers, when a reformed Parliament accelerated the renovation of the English constitution, when the fright occasioned by the French Revolution across the Channel began to dissipate, when the green fields and ancient towns of Merrie England began to reveal unsightly sores. The Anglican Church, now characterized by those pleasant anachronisms which only time can supply, was indeed a logical subject for reform.¹

I. History of the Tithe

Of these anachronisms, the tithe was almost as much an economic and political problem as it was a clerical one. Basically, the tithe meant the right of the clergy to one-tenth of the produce of a man's labor. In earlier times, tithes had been collected to serve four purposes: maintenance of the clergy, support of bishops, upkeep of the necessities of Church service, and poor relief. The Reformation had reduced these four to one, so that by 1830, tithes were collected only for the support of the clergy.²

Even the most conservative divine in the Anglican Church was hard put to find divine authority for the tithe. Some, like the Rev. Dr.

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¹The bulk of the material in this paper, facts, figures, and short quotations, comes from the first thirty-six volumes of Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, London: Hansard, 1830-1836. Of this Third Series, Volumes I to XV are valuable for background material and the early bills. Volume XVII contains information on the 1st Althorp Bill, with the Tenterden and Blamire Bills discussed in Volume XX. Volume XXII has the 2nd Althorp Bill, Volume XXVII the Peel Bill, and Volumes XXXI to XXXIII the Russell Bill.

²Mr. Parrott, Mar. 4, 1834, Hansard, *op. cit.*, XXI, 1043-44.

Cole, held that God's gift of the tithe came about as the result of "some unrecorded revelation made to Adam," which to him was not only the "most rational, but the most probable solution."³ But more sober critics wondered to what parish church Adam had brought his tithe! Christianity itself has little authority for the tenth. Indeed, as the proponents of tithe reform were fond of pointing out, only Jews could make any pretense to a divine law supporting tithe collection. Unkind critics of the Church argued that "it was only as real Christianity declined, that tithing began." They complained bitterly against this "species of extortion."⁴

However wobbly was the moral and religious basis for the tithe, few Englishmen, and this was more important, questioned the Church's legal rights. As owner of physical property since long before the Reformation, the Church of England since the days of Henry VIII also had claimed most of the lay authority of the *ci-devant* universal Church. During the first days of Christian rule in England, the clergy was supported by charity, oblations, and voluntary gifts, and Blackstone found no mention of the tithe before a synod of 786 recommended its payment. Not until much later, about 900 and during a conflict with the pagan Danes, was it thought necessary to insure the preservation of the Church by instituting compulsory tithe. This was about all that was known in 1830 of the beginning of the tithe in England.

Englishmen in the 1830's were well aware, however, of the role that the tithe had played in the kingdom's religious difficulties. Long before the Reformation, royal and Church courts had handled much litigation dealing with non-payment of the tithe and the unworthiness of the clergy to receive payment for their often non-existent services. To a certain extent, the Lollard controversy had been influenced by the tithe problem, for Wycliffe had accused the clergy of his day of breeding hatred for true religion by collecting the tenth. And some of his more radical adherents even had advised the non-payment of tithes where services of the clergy were unsatisfactory. Incidentally, such ideas for the fourteenth century were not as radical as for the nineteenth.

With the confiscation of Church property under the Tudors, much land with undoubted tithe-rights attached had passed to the crown, the reformed English Church, and private landlords. From this sharing of the despoilment of the Church, tithes came to be divided into ecclesiastical and lay tithes, the latter being tithes, originally intended for the

³*The Extraordinary Black Book: An Exposition of Abuses in Church and State . . .* (London: E. Wilson, 1832) 11-12.

⁴*Ibid.*, 10-11.

Church, collected by large landowners (impropriators) for their personal enrichment. Tithes also varied as to types—great, small, and personal. Great tithes were those assessed on the main crops and flocks in the field. Small tithes were those assessed on milk, eggs, butter, and the like. Some tithes were personal, that is, they were assessed on mills and even houses. Often tithes were referred to as rectorial and vicarial, that is, the great tithes were paid to the rector, while tithes on pasture lands went to the vicar. Thus it was possible for the tithe-payer to change the amount of tithe paid, and even the receiver of it, by pasturing sheep instead of plowing the land. Tithes, moreover, were collected on everything from wheat, sheep, eggs, milk, to fish, books, mills, houses, cabbages, and minerals.

II. A Problem of Endless Complication

The tithe problem to be solved by Parliament was one of endless complication. No solution could be found without a detailed and quarrelsome investigation of the relations of Church and State, of the nature of Church property, of the Church's need for revenues, of the effect of tithes on price rises, of lay impropriators, of the leasing-out of tithes, and of the effect of tithes on agriculture, on the spiritual attractiveness of the Church, and on Church attendance. Before the issue was settled, years and millions of words were dissipated in an effort to gather the facts and satisfy the kingdom.

Whatever the specific phase of Church organization under attack, a fundamental issue eventually came to light: what was the exact historical and legal relationship of the Church to the State? Many there were who argued that the Church was not a part of the constitution, that the lords spiritual were lords of Parliament, not as members of an estate, but as holders of baronies who thus had no claim to separate legislative authority. Nevertheless, it was generally held that the Church had received its position and revenues, via the Henrican and Elizabethan Settlements, from the crown. Hence, when Parliament asserted its own claims to many crown powers, authority over the Established Church passed from Whitehall to Westminster, and the more sober members of the Establishment readily, if unenthusiastically, accepted Parliament's right to legislate for the Church, its dogma, its revenues, and its property.

As a result, the mild quarrel in the 1830's between Church and Parliament centered around the nature of Church property: whether

or not it had been sanctified as private rather than public property. This complex legal issue arose from the curious anomaly of the existence of lay tithe-owners. Thus, were tithes private or public property? The more extreme Tories, accusing the critics of the Church of "robbery and plunder," contended that tithes were private property and subject to all the legal safeguards protecting private property. On the other extreme were those who wished Parliament to differentiate between clerical and lay tithes and legislate only for the former. While that issue was settled in the negative, at least Parliament successfully asserted its own view of Church property, including tithes. Because Church lands had been "given" to the Church by the State, Church lands constituted "not private property, but corporate property, corporate property of a more sacred nature than corporate property generally, but still corporate property."⁵

The Church's revenues from tithes was a matter of much conjecture, both within and without the halls of Parliament. No exact figures were available, and the Church released none. In a pamphlet, *Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy*, the author estimated the gross produce of England and Wales to be worth about £150,000,000, with the clergy receiving about one-sixteenth (c.£6,250,000) a year from tithes.⁶ Other estimates ran from three to nine millions a year, but Lord Althorp, as chancellor of the exchequer, reported returns on the total Church income from 9,600 of the 11,400 benefices in England and Wales of about £2,750,000 a year.⁷ The total yearly income of the Church was estimated to be about £3,500,000, about three-quarters of this sum coming from tithes.

How widespread was ecclesiastical tithing? It was known that about one-third of the land of England and Wales was exempt from Church tithes, either free of this impost altogether or subject to lay tithing. In 1830, about 28,000,000 acres were subject to both lay and ecclesiastical tithing.⁸

The quarrel over the size of Church revenues from tithes was no academic dispute, for tithes could be compounded (for a temporary money payment), or commuted (for a permanent money payment), or abolished only were Parliament to make some provision for the support of the clergy. No matter whose figures for the total income of the

⁵*The Extraordinary Black Book: An Exposition of Abuses in Church and State* . . . 91. See Lord Plunkett's speech, Apr. 2, 1835, Hansard, *op. cit.*, XXXVII. 643.

⁶*The Extraordinary Black Book* . . . , 45.

⁷Lord Althorp, Apr. 18, 1833, Hansard, *op. cit.*, XVII, 274.

⁸*The Extraordinary Black Book* . . . , 45.

Church were accepted (and Lord Althorp's £3,500,000 seemed the most likely), it was generally admitted that tithes made up about two-thirds or three-fourths of the Church's income. No one missed the point. Were tithes to be abolished without disestablishing the Church, Parliament would have to levy higher taxes to make up the deficit, and to disestablish the Church was going much farther than Parliament wished. Obviously, a less violent and more complex remedy would have to be found.

But if it could be proved that the clergy lived too well and derived too much income from tithes, could not the tithe be lowered? A number of members advanced this argument, but the bishop of London,^{s-a} contending that tithe collection by the clergy was not rigorous, showed that the full tenth was rarely collected. In most instances, he said, only one-half or one-fourth of the one-tenth was taken. And Lord Althorp, too, argued that the revenues of the Church were just enough, and no more, to maintain the Establishment.

Some discussion was heard from time to time on the relation of the tithe to rent payments. Even though its supporters contended that the tithe varied considerably in its relation to rent, being 30% in some areas, 17% in others, and even as low as 1½% in some, the relation of rent to income had to be considered. In the agricultural depression in the early 1830's, both rents and income had fallen, but the tithe ratio remained fairly stable, or was increased, and caused much hardship to the farmer. Moreover, during the war, tithes had risen when prices were high but had not decreased in proportion as prices had declined in the past fifteen years. On one large farm, for instance, the surplus for paying rent amounted to £850 in 1790 but had dropped to £330 in 1834. No member dared to ignore the vital relationship borne by the tithe to prices—and thus to income. While prices were high, the tithe-payer was relatively contented; when prices sank, his income dropped but payment of the tithe (on a percentage basis) remained the same.

While in the midst of discussing these aspects of the tithe problem, Parliament was compelled to consider another factor, the resumption of lapsed tithes. In Westmoreland, for example, property owners were required to pay tithes in 1830 which had lain dormant for five hundred years. In another parish, tithes had amounted to £400 when the incumbent minister entered his office; after beginning law suits for the

^{s-a}Charles James Blomfield was bishop of London, 1828-1856.

payment of lapsed tithes, his income jumped to £1,200 in 1826 and to £1,800 in 1831.⁹

Despite the resultant unpopularity, more and more ecclesiastical and lay impropiators, stimulated perhaps by Parliament's interest in finding a solution to the tithe problem, demanded from the tithe-payers the payment of long-dormant tithes. The tithe-owner feared that his future income might someday depend on the tithe currently collected. Hence the haste with which both parson and lay impropiator instituted proceedings for the resumption of lapsed tithes. In addition, even where temporary moduses (agreements for the payment of the tithes in money rather than in kind) had been arranged, the tithe-owner began to demand a return to payment in kind. Such a change meant for him not only a current higher income but also security against the day when Parliament moved to resolve the tithe problem.

Parliament, by now thoroughly confused, became aware of even more complications in the question. Many tithe-owners were also tithe-payers, and in several cases, the parson who collected tithes from Church lands for the Church collected additional tithes from property of his own. Thus, he was a lay impropiator as well. In addition, the tithe-payer was often the apple of discord in jurisdictional disputes fought with great venom by ecclesiastics both in and out of the courts. A Mr. Gibbins of Lincoln parish complained to Parliament that, his lands lying in five parishes, he was often called upon to pay tithes on the same crop to two or more claimants. Also, from the tithe-payer rose an anguished cry against the partiality of the courts for the tithe-owner, a complaint which involved several members in an ugly dispute over the English judicial system.

Parliament was beginning to recognize the irrationality of the tithe setup. Some tithe-owners levied their tenth on the gross rather than the net produce of the land. Some complained that Parliament, by indirectly encouraging resistance to lawful payment, had reduced the value of land. Moreover, the distribution of this "second rent," as the tithe was often called, was not equal throughout England and increased the friction between clergy and laity, between higher and lower clerics, and between tithe-payer and tithe-owner. Although the higher prelates usually had a sufficient income from the great tithes, the vicars all too often suffered from a form of tithe poverty. The Choral Fund of Exeter Cathedral, for instance, received £600 a year from tithes, while the curate who did all the work got a mere £50.

⁹Mr. Wood, Feb. 11, 1831, Hansard, *op. cit.*, II, 398.

Already baffled by these many complaints and counter-complaints, Parliament was pushed, much against its will, into a discussion of non-residency and pluralism in the Church. As Lord King pointed out, without comment from the ecclesiastical bench, about one-half of the 11,500 benefices in England and Wales were without resident ministers. All other issues aside, the tithe-payer bitterly resented having to pay tithes to absentee clerics for non-existent services. Perhaps no other factor carried so much weight in the arguments of those who insisted upon the complete abolition of clerical tithes as the non-residency of the clerical tithe-owner. It was a major weakness in the legal armor which otherwise fitted the Church so well.

All the complexities of ecclesiastical tithing notwithstanding, the lay tithe proved to be the most troublesome of the whole problem. About one-fourth of all tithes paid in England and Wales, amounting to an annual sum in excess of £1,700,000, went to lay impropriators.¹⁰ Some 3,845 impropriations, that is, benefices held by persons not engaged in religious practices, were in the hands not only of the landed gentry but also of many educational institutions. The collegiate tithe-paying lands, held by Christ Church, Oxford, for example, presented a relatively simple problem. Parliamentary tithe reformers regarded such lands as "simply held in trust for the Church," and as such subject to direct Parliamentary action. But strictly lay tithes were a different matter. These were private property. Very few members dared to attack tithes in the hands of private citizens, the result being that the reformed Parliament found it impossible to consider the complete abolition of tithes. A cautious policy, already reinforced by the need of supporting a State Church, was now directed solely to the removing of the injustices in tithe-payment and tithe-collection by providing for a scheme of national compulsory composition or commutation.

Indeed, because of the lay impropriator, the Church even gained some unexpected support, for however distasteful might be the payment of tithes to a non-resident cleric, the need to pay tithes, designed for the support of the clergy, to landed impropriators was infinitely worse. Lay owners, moreover, were less amenable to tithe agreements and generally more grasping in their exactions than Churchmen. Even so-called Radicals reconsidered their previous uncomplimentary judgements of the Establishment. The Church, they said, was not "rapacious and seeking for filthy lucre." It was the lay impropriator who wanted

¹⁰*The Extraordinary Black Book . . .*, 91.

"more than the pound of flesh." All this drew from the bishop of London the hopeful announcement that "the existence of lay impropriators was the very worst abuse." On this subject, at least, the ecclesiastical benchers, tired of running with the foxes, found great sport in baying with the hounds.

No sooner had the question of lay impropriations been raised in Parliament than another factor rose to plague the members. Tithes were leasable. New College, Oxford, had leased out its tithes to two degrees. And Christ Church, Oxford, leased over £3,500 in great tithes to a Roman Catholic family in Lancashire, so that the tithe-payers in that district were supporting a Roman Catholic landowner with tithes paid to a university designed originally for the Church.

Continuing its survey of the tithe problem, Parliament also discovered a wide variation in local agreements as to commutation and composition. In some areas, the tithe-owner had accepted land in lieu of further tithe-payments, but much more common were local compositions, by means of which an impermanent money payment replaced tithing in kind. In 1835, Peel estimated that about 82% of the tithes had been composed in one fashion or another, leaving about 18% still collected in kind. Thus, before Parliament ever considered tithe reform as a national problem, local agreements had shown the way. On the other hand, these compositions were quite inadequate, varied widely throughout the kingdom, and did little to remove the basic irritations with the tithe system. For compositions were not permanent; they could be altered with little difficulty by either tithe-payer or tithe-owner.

III. Effects of the Tithe Controversy

Three most interesting effects of the tithe controversy may be seen on (1) agriculture, (2) the Church's spiritual appeal, and (3) church attendance and the parson's popularity. To agricultural areas such as Devonshire, where the outcry against tithes was the loudest, the tithe-collector was second in unpopularity only to the plague, but agricultural interests all over England rivaled each other in the violence of their attacks on the tithe. Lengthy petitions, often signed by thousands of farmers and landowners, poured into both Houses of Parliament, protesting the continuance of tithing in kind and the insecurity of composition and other voluntary settlements.

To the farmer, especially the tenant farmer, the tithe was nothing but a "second rent," even though it ultimately resulted in raising prices

and thus became a tax on the consumer. In one respect, however, the tithe was not so much a rent as an income tax. Rent was assessed for the use of land and buildings, but the tithe was collected in proportion, not to exceed one-tenth, to the whole income. Were nothing produced on a farm, no tithe could be collected.

Agricultural interests complained to Parliament that the tithe was an instance where initiative was penalized and indolence rewarded. As the value of the crop was increased by hard labor, along with the expenses of cultivation, the value of the tithe rose correspondingly. For example, in 1739, tithes generally equaled one-eighth the value of the land; in 1759, one-fifth; and after 1800, one-fourth of the arable and one-seventh of the pasture land. The more industrious the farmer, the more tithe he paid to his clergyman or lay improPRIATOR. In many areas, as a result, heavily tithed crops were discarded, as in Kent where the tithe on hops exceeded the rent. Because corn (grain)^{10-a} was expensive to cultivate and because the corn tithe was high, the farmer made just as much from non-tithable low-priced grass.

Before 1830, also, it was customary for the clerical tithe-collector to take his tenth ridge of potatoes by digging it himself, but now the farmer had to dig the potatoes. This meant not only extra work for the farmer but also danger that the "tithe pile" would spoil before the tithe-collector arrived, in which case the farmer would have to replace the rotten with good potatoes from his own stocks. Handicapped in these ways, the farmer felt little interest in developing new methods of scientific farming "without being haunted by an apprehension of the clergyman." Moreover, from an economic standpoint, tithing of agricultural products, either as a net income or gross produce tax, retarded the investment of capital in land and thus impeded the agricultural progress of the entire kingdom.

The irrationality and unpopularity of the tithe system also affected the conversion work of the Established Church. Long before, Burke had denounced the "inauspicious appearance of a tax-gatherer," which the Anglican clergyman presented to his congregation. Peel was especially concerned over the growth of Dissent in large English parishes renowned for non-residency and tithe difficulties. As he wrote:

^{10-a} "Corn" never meant in Great Britain what Americans understand it to mean, namely, "maize" or "Indian corn." In Britain is always meant grain—wheat, oats, barley. Maize or Indian corn is not raised in Britain.

Dissent is increasing not on account of hostility to the Church, but because there is a religious feeling which the Church of England will not conciliate towards herself.¹¹

The thousands of legal suits brought by clergymen against their parishioners for the collection, resumption, and increase of tithes endangered, according to Lord Western, not only the Blessed Church, but also the "interests of religion" as a whole. Many members contended that a prospective convert to the Anglican faith would reconsider a decision to accept communion in a Church whose prelates were more concerned with getting their full tithe than in securing the repose of his eternal soul.

The too-general unpopularity of the country parson was one of the most unfavorable results of the tithe system. Wycliffe, in his *Offices of Curates*, had written in the fourteenth century that the clergy

"practice strife and plea, and gather envy and hate from laymen for tithes. They leave preaching of the gospel, and cry fast after tithes, and summon men to account, and by force take their goods . . ."¹²

Nearly five hundred years later conditions were much the same. In a rectory in Somerset, a quiet and peaceful place, a new rector had commenced negotiations for the resumption of a tithe on herring. Petitioners to Parliament declared that he had made a "little Ireland" out of the place, that his agent had been burnt in effigy, and that he himself had fled the parish. For forty years there had been no resident rector—and no collection of tithes.

In a Cumberland vicarage, where the some forty or fifty cases had been carried through all the courts at Westminster and into the ecclesiastical courts in York and Carlisle, the parson had been engaged in litigation with his flock for over thirty years. The parson lost the decision in 1815. Since that time, three additional cases had been lost by the same parson. Undaunted, the parson had then instituted another suit against one of his tithe-paying parishioners.

The solicitor general announced in 1833 that there were some 9,000 tithe suits then in the courts. In one parish alone, over 222 suits had been instituted for the renewal of tithe payments, and in several of the cases over 150 persons were grouped as "defendants." Court

¹¹Sir Robert Peel to the bishop of Durham, Feb. 23, 1835, Lord Mahon and E. Cardwell (eds.), *Memoirs by the R. H. Sir Robert Peel* . . . , 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1857) II, 82.

¹²J. C. Jeaffreson, *A Book About the Clergy*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1870) I, 101.

costs were enormous. The solicitor general estimated that if each of the 9,000 suits cost the defendant £200, the total cost of tithe litigation at that time would amount to over £2,000,000.

Dissenters were delighted. Their conversion work was much easier in those areas where tithe trouble embittered contact between the Anglican clergy and the laity. Even in rigidly Tory areas, it was reported by a member:

Sir, the conduct of the parson is such, that I dare not swear in those proper persons who would otherwise be sworn in as special constables.¹³

Indeed, the deleterious effects of the tithe controversy soon became apparent with relation to Church affiliation, and in many areas the congregation declined alarmingly. In one parish, Church attendance was reduced to three members, consisting of the parson, his ecclesiastical attendant at the altar, and one pious soul (probably not a tithe-payer) on the other side of the rail.

An examination of two or three such disputes, which particularly interested Parliament, illustrates the complicated problems it had to face in attempting to solve the tithe issue—and the great difficulty of reconciling conflicting interests.¹⁴

In 1831, Mr. Harris, who owned his own farm, was not on the best of terms with his clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Port. The details of their quarrel were laid before Parliament. During and after his dispute with his tithe-owning parson, Mr. Harris had often addressed letters to Mr. Port "couched in language as vulgar as it was insolent," had assailed him with disgusting ribaldry" on the streets, and had disturbed his officiating at the Holy Communion by starting brawls in a nearby tavern. Moreover, Mr. Harris had caused the Rev. Mr. Port's tithe-agent to walk two miles to collect a payment of one cabbage.

Again, in 1831, Mr. Harris planted an acre of cabbages and put the rest of his farm in grass. Most of the cabbages were tithed without dispute, as they were needed by Mr. Port, but at the end of the cabbage season there remained the final settlement. Mr. Harris divided the cabbages into ten piles and called for Mr. Port to get his share. Mr. Port's agent said that the piles were unequal, and despite Mr. Harris' request that he take any one of the ten piles, he refused. So, after a week, Mr. Harris took nine piles of cabbage and left the tithed pile in the field.

¹³Mr. Lond Wellesley, Dec. 21, 1830, Hansard, *op. cit.*, II, 38.

¹⁴Mr. Crompton, June 3, 1835, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 478-79.

All might have ended happily had Mr. Harris not been the indulgent owner of three lambs which pastured in the next field. The lambs entered the cabbage field (now a pasture) and ate part of Mr. Port's cabbages. Mr. Harris was in a quandary. If he let his lambs eat the remaining cabbages, the tithe would be gone. If he removed the animals, he lost the use of the new pasturage. He decided to leave the solution to God; and the lambs ate the cabbages. Mr. Port then demanded his full tithe or an equivalent of seven shillings six pence for the nine or ten cabbages worth about a penny a piece. Mr. Harris refused. Mr. Port served Mr. Harris with a citation and carried the case to the spiritual court at Litchfield. Rather than undergo the expenses of a lengthy law suit, Mr. Harris surrendered—only to find himself saddled with the price of the cabbages and court costs amounting to over £15.

In another case, in a parish in Lincolnshire in 1835, the parson had only visited his residence once since 1829, and then only to raise the tithe. In Hampshire, a costly suit was instituted against a number of retired naval officers, a situation that caused one member of Parliament to remark: "The Hampshire clergymen certainly appeared to mark out the unfortunate naval officers for their prey and plunder . . ." In the case of Captain Pechell vs. the Rev. Mr. Kemp, involving a turnip tithe valued at thirty shillings, the defendant was compelled to pay court costs amounting to over £318.

Such instances of clerical rapacity were widely known in England, and were discussed at length and amidst angry bickering in both Houses of Parliament. They undoubtedly influenced the members to hasten the work of tithe reform.

IV. The Tithe Becomes a National Issue

Ever since Earl Grey's famous warning to the Church to put its house in order, the problem of reforming that institution had been before the reformed Parliament. And yet, the Anglican Church, as such, was hardly a party issue. Men of all views, though with varying degrees of enthusiasm, accepted the need for reform. Even the bishop of London admitted to a "prevalent desire" for reform. "There might be imperfections, defects, in the constitution of the Church"; these he admitted, "but there were no abuses." Less cautious were Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel who suggested a "comprehensive and impartial consideration" of the Church problem. Extremists on both sides tended to confuse the issue, and charges that the Church favored arbi-

trary, unEnglish government, countered by claims that the reformers proposed to loot the Establishment, were equally pointless. The real issue was not reform, but the extent of it; everyone seemed to agree that the Church should be revitalized, but *how* was the question. What interested government leaders like Grey, Melbourne, Althorp, Peel, and Russell was, as Burke had put it, the need for "taking away from the Church the power of being odious." It was at this point that tithe reform became a political issue.

Although tithe reform in the 1830's was not, as was blatantly claimed, a non-partisan effort, neither was it a political question dividing Whigs and Tories. To be sure, some staunch Tories resisted all reform, but likewise did they repudiate the moderate leadership of Peel, the head of their own party. Some, like Lord Eldon, were positive that the outcry against tithes would not have the slightest effect in altering their "fixed determination to support the Established Church." Indeed, as the earl of Delaware put it:

The signs of the times were such, that it behooved the members of the Church to look with suspicion upon those measures which they had been informed were about to be introduced containing further concessions to a body which had gone the length of demanding the total separation of the Church from the State.¹⁵

The ecclesiastical bench, opposed to radical tithe reform, rarely permitted the tithe question to proceed to an orderly discussion without raising its voice to protest "an attack on religion." And no debates were so productive of undignified conduct, loss of temper, and outright vilification as those on the Church. Tithes were usually forgotten in the uproar.

Nevertheless, the denunciations of tithes continued. They were attacked, for various reasons, by the small farmer, the large estate owner, the tenant, the dweller in the city, the intellectual, and by all Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Malthus, Adam Smith, Paley, Burke, and Bishop Watson had denounced them. The more radical pamphleteers flayed the tithe as a "compulsory payment," as "the most unjust and impolitic impost the ingenuity of rulers ever devised for tormenting God's creatures, and crippling natural resources," as "the rubbish about a beautiful building, the rottenness, which generates ugliness and maggots in a beautiful blooming peach."¹⁶

¹⁵Earl of Delaware, Mar. 6, 1834, *ibid.*, XXI, 1187.

¹⁶G. Dyer, *Four Letters on the English Constitution* (London: Ridgway, 1817) p. 74.

Moreover, the leaders of the two parties favored the solution of a problem which generated so much heat and criticism, and the country at large apparently favored some sort of ameliorative legislation. Even the lay impropiators, and there were some eighty of these sitting on both sides of the Commons, favored moderate tithe reform. And no doubt both parties were aware of the "golden opportunity" of attracting agricultural and liberal support by revising the tithe setup. Thus, as one member remarked, the tithe question had become a "national question; and it was the interest of the country to get rid of it."¹⁷

V. Parliamentary Attempts at a Solution, 1830-1835

By 1832, the tithe had become a national issue. Between 1757 and 1830, Parliament had acted on over 2000 private bills for the commutation of tithes. But the private bill was a costly corrective to a general problem, as some had cost the petitioner as much as £2,000.¹⁸ At this price, Parliamentary action was prohibitive for the poor farmer who had to persuade a reluctant Parliament to act. His alternative was to go to court with a more than fifty-fifty chance of being burdened with court costs, the payment of the old tithe, and often an increase in the tithe rate.

Various compromises had been tried throughout the kingdom. In the north of England, a system of collective bargaining was used whereby all the tithe-payers (or just the leading payers) accepted a parish contract that set up a committee to investigate the state of the crops and to apportion the tithes on ability to pay. By this time, too, legislation permitted the voluntary composition of tithes into money payments, but the arrangements made were rarely permanent. The "contract" could be denounced by either party and tithing in kind restored.

Strangely enough, the archbishop of Canterbury first presented in 1830 a bill for the Composition of Tithes. Nothing more was heard of his grace's bill until February, 1831, when he announced his intention of introducing a second.¹⁹ On July 18, 1831, the Lords were offered two bills, one for composition by the archbishop and one for commutation by Lord Dacre. The terms of the prelate's bill would permit clergymen and tithe-owners to compose tithes at not less than two-thirds the value

¹⁷Mr. Rolfe, Mar. 24, 1835, Hansard, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 188.

¹⁸Sir Robert Peel, Mar. 24, 1835, *ibid.*, XXVII, 178.

¹⁹Archbishop of Canterbury, June 24, 1831, *ibid.*, IV, 292-93. William Howley was archbishop of Canterbury, 1828-1848.

of the property, the composition to last no longer than twenty-one years and to be binding on heirs and successors.²⁰ Whole parishes, or sections thereof, might thus compose, the amount to be settled directly by the tithe-owners and tithe-payers or by commissioners chosen by them. Though the bill reached a second reading, it occasioned little interest in the Lords, never reached the Commons, and was recognized outside the House for what it was, an ecclesiastical stop-gap measure. As unkind critics remarked, the twenty-one year period was just sufficient to cover the average earthly pilgrimage of most clergymen and to secure to them untroubled and unreformed churchly revenues.

Lord Dacre's bill for the commutation of tithes, mentioned on the same day, was withdrawn at the request of Earl Grey and colleagues on both sides of the House before being formally introduced.²¹ But it contained many provisions later found in the bills presented by Althorp, Peel, and Russell. Dacre proposed that the tithe be made into another rent, "vibrating with the price of corn," and allowing for periodic readjustments and in some cases outright commutation for land. If two-thirds of the tithe-payers in any parish accepted commutation, they legally could compel the other one-third and the tithe-owners to accept commutation. Each side was empowered to appoint a commissioner to conclude the agreement; if none was possible, an umpire was to arbitrate.

In February, 1832, the disputatious Lord King presented three plans for tithe reform to the Lords,²² the same Lord King who a year before had confounded the earl of Winchelsea, staunch supporter of the Establishment, by asking: "Was tithe religion? Were all the abuses referred to the religion of the noble Earl?" From the many tithe petitions he had presented, Lord King had drawn up his three plans: (1) charge the land with proportional rent for the clergy, or with a permanent rent equal to the annual income of the Church; (2) bring about an equilibrium between the grain rent and tithes by averaging grain and tithe receipts of the clergy for the past seven years; or (3) sell all ecclesiastical tithes and Church lands and give the proceeds to the government which would then undertake to support the Church. After little debate, the three plans were rejected by the Lords and never heard of again.

²⁰Archbishop of Canterbury, June 24, 1831, IV, 1362.

²¹Lord Dacre, July 18, 1831, *ibid.*, IV, 1387-88.

²²Lord King, Feb. 8, 1832, *ibid.*, X, 232-33.

In August, 1832, Parliament passed Lord Tenterden's bill.²³ This measure gave tithe-owners and payers one year in which to take legal action involving disputed tithe arrangements, resumptions, and increases. Ignoring the Committee on Real Property's recommended sixty-year legal claim period, Tenderden had at least suggested a three-year limit. But, as the solicitor general later protested, and while he was out of town, the Lords had inserted the one-year proviso. Later, Lord Chancellor Brougham admitted that he had thought the bill to be one of "quiet to the State . . . and goodwill and security to the Church," but unfortunately the law defeated its own purpose. True, it did bring the tithe issue to the attention of the country as did no other act of Parliament, but it did so in a way entirely unforeseen. It became an "evil of a tremendous kind," and all England was "in a flame." Thousands of suits clogged the calendars of the courts, and the clergy made themselves more unpopular than ever by their necessarily precipitate action in filing for increases and resumptions.

Mr. Blamire's bill was the Commons' half-hearted reaction to the flood of lawsuits following the passage of the Tenderden Act.²⁴ This bill proposed a suspension of tithe suits for one year and a reduction in the number of litigants in each suit, those dropped to be bound by the decision of the court in the original case. It was Blamire's hope that in the respite thus gained, Parliament would have time to consider a comprehensive bill of reform. Passed by the Commons on Althorp's advice, the bill headed straight for disaster in the Lords, where the bishop of London felt called upon to remark that "a more unjust measure had never been sent up to their Lordships from the other House of Parliament." It was just as well. Neither the Tenderden Act nor the Blamire Bill provided that much-needed comprehensive reform so frequently discussed and so long in appearing.

Early the next year (February, 1833), Lord King annoyed the ecclesiastical bench and embarrassed the government by calling for a detailed examination of the tithe revenues of the Church.²⁵ Earl Grey, giving the first intimation that the government was considering tithe reform, secured King's withdrawal of his motion. An investigation at that time, he said, would only complicate an already unbearably complicated situation. In the Commons, and before the presentation of Althorp's First Bill, the dissenter, Mr. Faithfull, resolved that the Church was not a useful institution and hence that its revenues should be

²³Lord Althorp, Aug. 15, 1833, *ibid.*, XX, 710.

²⁴Mr. Blamire, Aug. 20, 1833, *ibid.*, XX, 795.

²⁵Lord King, Feb. 7, 1833, *ibid.*, XV, 301.

diverted to the relief of the nation.²⁶ Unanimously defeated (the "ayes" were a little late and not counted), Mr. Faithfull's motion revealed that the Commons was neither anti-Church nor anti-Establishment. Whether it was anti-tithe remained to be seen.

On April 18, 1833, the chancellor of the exchequer in the Whig government, Lord Althorp, introduced into the Commons the first comprehensive bill for tithe reform.²⁷ In general, the measure permitted tithe-owners and payers to arrange for perpetual commutation by substituting a corn (grain) rent for the tithe, a rent that would vary from year to year in relation to the price of corn. Owners and payers were allowed twelve months to settle their differences through voluntary commutation. If, at the end of the year, no adjustment had been made, each side would appoint a valuator. These valutors, working if necessary with the assistance of a general umpire, would assess the value of the tithe on the basis of the amount and value paid over the past several years. They were then empowered to commute the tithe to a permanent corn rent, based, in turn, on the average value of wheat, barley, and oats. The tithe-owner was given the option of receiving money or the corn rent, while the tithe-payer was to decide in which of the grains he would pay. Whole parishes, as well as individuals, could commute.

Once again, Parliament was overwhelmed with petitions sent "in masses" against the proposed measure. The Tories and many Whigs, especially the followers of Lord John Russell, caustically condemned the bill's compulsory features to such an extent, indeed, that Althorp was persuaded, first to withdraw these features, and finally the entire bill. The following April, Althorp, himself, explained why he had killed his bill: (1) it rewarded those tithe-owners who had collected the full pound of flesh and punished the more lenient; (2) it set a never-varying standard of commutation on the present value of tithes, while ignoring land-value changes; and (3) because of these land-value changes, the whole idea of a corn rent was unsound. With this reasoning, Peel was in hearty agreement.

By this time, Althorp had been convinced of the truth of Dr. Lushington's remark that the more one knew about tithes, the more strongly would he realize that justice for all could not be done. The next year, however, Althorp presented a second tithe commutation bill, but only after having sent circulars throughout the kingdom requesting informa-

²⁶Mr. Faithfull, Apr. 16, 1833, *ibid.*, XVII, 178.

²⁷Lord Althorp, Apr. 18, 1833, *ibid.*, XVII, 275-92.

tion on the tithes. It was on the basis of this new information, he said, that he had constructed his second bill.

On April 15, 1834, almost a year to the day since the introduction of his first Tithe Commutation Bill, Althorp explained the principle of his new measure, "customary payment."²⁸ Commuted tithe payments should bear a fixed relationship to land rent. Rent, representing the real value of the land and not the sum paid by the occupant, was subject to variation. Hence, commuted tithe payments should rise and fall with the land rent. Valuers were to be named for each county to investigate the tithes of that area, to make some distinction between arable and pasture-land tithes, and to "ascertain payment on account of tithes during the last five years." The results of these preliminary studies were to be laid before the Court of Quarter Sessions, where the proportion between rent and tithe was to be fixed and the tithe burden on arable and pasture lands was to be defined. A barrister, to be appointed for that purpose, was to hear appeals from the court's decision.

At this point, Althorp admitted that this solution still would tend to prevent or slow-up the investment of capital in agricultural areas. To avoid this, the tithe-payer was to be given twenty-five years to purchase his tithe obligations. Were the necessary money unavailable, the tithe-payer would arrange for a non-foreclosable mortgage paying only 4%.

In the event the legal owner of the tithe was unknown, the lay tithe-payer could place his redemption money in the court of exchequer and thus rid himself of the tithe-payment, the money to remain in the court until the legal owner were found. In the case of those tithes bought from the Church, the bill instructed the Establishment to invest the money to provide livings for the clergy.

Sir Robert Peel criticized the new Althorp Bill for its unnecessary complications and its underrating the importance of voluntary settlements. He thought that an accurate valuation was almost impossible; and the attempt would be costly. To correlate the tithe with rent was unjust. The tithe was based on the produce of the land, while the rent was decided ultimately on the expense of cultivation; there was no direct relationship. Moreover, Peel wanted to know why the variations within counties, even within parishes, were not noted in the bill.

Though Mr. Harvey feared "that this Bill would be shipwrecked by its honesty," it was not honesty but the overthrow of the Melbourne Ministry on December 26, 1834, that cut short the Commons' discussion of Lord Althorp's measure. It was now the turn of that eminent Tory

²⁸Lord Althorp, Apr. 15, 1834, *ibid.*, XXII, 818-42.

critic, Sir Robert Peel, to try his own hand at tithe reform. In his statements on the two Althorp bills, and especially in his widely publicized Tamworth Address, Peel had already expressed himself in favor of tithe reform. In the Tamworth Address, he had said:

As to Church property in this country, no person has expressed a more earnest wish than I have done that the question of tithe, complicated and difficult as I acknowledge it to be, should, if possible, be satisfactorily settled by the means of a commutation, founded upon just principles, and proposed after mature consideration.²⁹

Decidedly friendly to the Establishment, Peel nevertheless appointed an ecclesiastical commission early in 1835 to consider the all-embracing issue of Church reform. In explaining his views on tithes and Church reform, he illustrated a conservative and cautious, yet reforming attitude:

I purposely formed the Commission of persons decidedly friendly to the Establishment; I purposely excluded from the Commission every person who was not regarded as a friend to the Church, placing upon the Commission a large proportion (as compared with lay members) of the highest spiritual authorities. I did this for the purpose of propitiating towards the intended Reform of the Church the good will and confidence of the Church itself . . . I fully expected that the first result of a sincere and united endeavour on the part of the Executive Government and the Church to work out practical improvements would be a general satisfaction and confidence among all reasonable men, and the abatement of extravagant demands in favour either of violent change or of the rigorous maintenance of the existing law and practice in ecclesiastical matters. I much feared that the second result would be a prevailing and dangerous impression that in consequence of this tranquillized state of the public mind, in consequence of having thus appeased the angry clamour for innovation by the promise of improvement, the necessity for any change whatever had passed away, and that the Church might safely be left unmolested.³⁰

Within a few weeks of the formation of his ecclesiastical commission, the new Prime Minister-Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the third in the series of comprehensive tithe reform measures.³¹ Peel told the Commons what the bill was not. It was not based on the actual

²⁹Mahon and Cardwell, *op. cit.*, II, 65-66.

³⁰*Ibid.*, II, 69-70.

³¹Sir Robert Peel, Mar. 24, 1835, Hansard, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 178-82.

valuation of tithes. It did not provide (as did Althorp's bill!) "a mere reference" to the average tithe receipts for the past few years. It did not fix a direct proportion between rent and tithes. What the new bill did propose was "to put an end to the discouragement of agriculture," and lessen or remove the expenses of a private bill by comprehensively providing for voluntary commutation of tithes.

Peel's bill provided that Parliament should create a tithe commission, the smaller the better (probably three members), to supervise the whole settlement, the commission to be given the power to appoint assistant commissioners to act as field agents to gather evidence and settle local differences. After instructing the tithe-owners and payers in a given parish to meet and consider a voluntary settlement, the assistant-commissioner was to attend the meeting to hear complaints and offer suggestions. If two-thirds (in point of value) of the tithe-payers should agree with the tithe-owner to commute tithes to money payments, the other one-third would be bound by the agreement. But this arrangement was to be final only after approval by the tithe commission in London. This would protect the minority from fraud and collusion, Peel thought. The money payment, in such a commutation agreement, was to be called a corn rent, because it would vary with the price of wheat, oats, and barley. At the option of each party, the commuted tithe payment was to be subject to revision at least every seven years.

In areas where composition was already in effect, the two parties could refer the matter to the arbitration of the tithe commission or throw the matter into the courts. If a tithe-payer wished to give land to the tithe-owner in order to liquidate the tithe, he would first have to agree, through commutation, on the money value of the tithe. To enable a tithe-owner to collect arrears in corn-rent payments, an order from the local magistrate would suffice. As for lands on lease, the corn-rent was to be paid by the lessee and deducted from the money to be paid to the landlord.

The bill provided for a five-year operation period. Within this time, Peel argued, nationwide commutation could be arranged on a voluntary basis. During the severe questioning from both sides of the House which followed the introduction of his measure, Peel explained that the Church was to appoint one member of the tithe commission and the crown the other two; that occupiers of land might commute tithes; that if the land value changed in the seven-year period set up for revision, little could be done to help the tithe-payer; that city tithes were not the concern of his bill.

Under persistent criticism, Peel confessed that voluntary commutation would go slowly—but surely, he added—in the next five years. He realized, he said, the “trouble, labour, and difficulty” involved in getting the necessary consents to commutation. But, if nothing else were achieved, five years would give Parliament time and experience with tithe reform. No harm could come from trying voluntary commutation first; if that failed, there was yet time to resort to a compulsory system. Peel’s bill was a conservative measure to aid agriculture and the Church, quite in keeping with the reforming policies and agricultural interests of the Tory Party. But it wasn’t enough; few liked it.

So unfavorable was the bill’s reception, that it was not sent to the printer. It did not go through a first reading. On April 18, 1835, Peel was turned out of office. Almost at once, petitions from all over the kingdom swamped the Houses of Parliament demanding that the second Melbourne ministry take up the task of tithe reform. Lord John Russell, as home secretary, attempted to put an end to Parliamentary resolutions on tithe reform by announcing on July 24, 1835, that the government intended to introduce a bill at the next session.³²

VI. The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836

In the interim, the Quakers and dissenters almost secured the passage of a bill making recoveries in the courts by tithe claimants subject to a person’s goods and not his person. But a far more important measure was introduced to the Commons and surprised nearly everyone by passing. In the case of the pecked turnips (already mentioned in connection with the Hampshire naval officers), Lord Lyndhurst had handed down a novel decision. Previous to this decision, a tithe-owner was entitled to one-tenth of the flocks and of the crops grown on a farm but not to the food which the flocks ate. An ingenious vicar demanded a tithe on turnips hoed, whether or not they were pecked or left on the ground as food for sheep. The court of exchequer, where Lord Lyndhurst sat, sustained this argument. The vicar was awarded a tithe, not alone on the turnips pecked, but on the sheep, the wool, and sheep manure derivative from the hoed but unpecked turnips. Alarmed at the uproar in the country over the judicial recognition of such a strange claim, Parliament rushed an act through which dealt with turnips as cattle food.³³

³²Lord John Russell, July 24, 1835, *ibid.*, XXIX, 1077.

³³Captain Pechell, June 19, 1835, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 898-901.

The Whig Ministry, of which Lord John Russell was a member, fully supported a tithe measure, although Melbourne's interest in Church reform was not pronounced. At the other extreme was Russell's breezy colleague in the foreign office, Lord Palmerston, who, as critics alleged, treated the Almighty like a foreign power and his temporal representatives as ambassadors—which was meant insultingly. Russell's attitude toward tithes was well-known, for back in 1834 he had termed them “unreasonable and unjust,” “unjust and impolitic,” and had criticized “this great and oppressive evil” as an “institution of a barbarous age.”³⁴

On February 9, 1836, while presenting his bill to the Commons, Russell marked tithe reform as urgent and requested the House to pass his or another measure during the present session to quiet the agitation in the country.³⁵ He reviewed the old arguments that the clergy had an indubitable right to tithes, that the Church was governed by Parliament, that the clergy had to lose either its tithe income or its popularity. He had harsh words for the effect of tithes on agriculture as a “heavy mulct on those who expended the most capital and displayed the greatest skill in the cultivation of the land.” But, he pointed out, these complaints had been heard for half a century; there were newer and more pressing reasons for his tithe bill: (1) the increasing discontent of tithe-payers with payment in kind; (2) the now apparently general disposition of the clergy to accept a fair commutation; and (3) a dangerous threat to the payment in tithes “of what was legally due.” It was clear, even at the beginning of Russell's address, that his measure had been written to defend rather than destroy the institution of tithes.

The object of Russell's bill was twofold. The first aim was to secure uniformity in tithe evaluation in England and Wales. The second was “to produce just as little disturbance as possible in existing interests.” In an illogical presentation, Russell then outlined the terms of his bill. Adopting the mechanics of Peel's now defunct bill (that is, the London Commission and assistant commissioners in the field), Russell also permitted voluntary commutation. Like Althorp, Russell also required, in the event of voluntary commutation, that the landowner stand in relation to tenant as landowner and tithe-owner. He would collect rent and tithe.

But in areas where no voluntary commutation could occur because of the obstinacy of either tithe-owner or payer, owners representing

³⁴Lord John Russell, Mar. 4, 1834, *ibid.*, XXI, 1040.

³⁵Lord John Russell, Feb. 9, 1836, *ibid.*, XXXI, 185-97.

one-fourth of the value of the tithe could call a meeting of all tithe-owners. When owners of three-fourths of the value of the land agreed with owners of three-fourths of the value of the tithe, then that agreement would bind the entire parish. Even though a tithe-owner or payer were to appeal, the agreement reached would still bind the parish. But the appellant, appearing before an assistant commissioner, might receive an award (to be ratified by the London Commission) which would be binding on the whole parish.

If at the end of a six-months period of grace, no agreement had been reached, a tithe-owner or landowner could ask for an award from the commission. An assistant commissioner would visit the parish under question and, after due investigation of the value of the tithe and costs of collection, would announce the result in money-value based on equivalent amounts of wheat, barley, and oats. If the Commission found that the tithe paid was more than 75% or less than 60% of the gross value of the tithe, it was empowered to raise or lower the tithe payment to this fixed maximum and minimum. It was at this point in his presentation that Russell asserted two major principles of his measure, the first being the percentage aspect, the second being that the "tithe was the property of the nation."

The act was to apply to both ecclesiastical and lay impropriators, to all but personal and mineral tithes. Russell omitted, at least temporarily, the question of redemption as in the case of the ceding of land to the clergy or the payment of a lump sum, during, say, a period of twenty-five years. It was felt, so Russell explained, that the granting of farming land to the Church would involve the individual cleric in a new and complicated avocation; and clerical corporations to administer the land would be, indeed, a dangerous thing for the Establishment.

Peel announced that the bill was not a party issue. Nevertheless, nineteen separate speakers discussed the measure on its second reading, several speaking many times, while in later discussions, as many as twenty-eight speakers criticized or defended the measure, Russell and Peel speaking ten and seven times respectively in a single day. Minor adjustments were made, none affecting the basic character of the bill as outlined above. The reaction to the bill, on the whole, was favorable, with Peel supporting many clauses and not objecting to the "plagiarism" of his commission system. The country responded favorably, although many extreme Tories and Church areas opposed the reduction of the tithe to 75%.

Rather smugly, Russell complained that the criticism of his measure was based on the fact that it was too hard on the clergy and too lenient on the clergy, too hard on the landlord and too easy on the landlord, too compulsory and not compulsory enough. "Thus, as might naturally be expected from the Bill drawn up without any bias, it was opposed by the extreme parties on both sides . . ." In August, 1836, after accepting minor amendments made by the Lords, the House of Commons adopted the Russell Bill, one which had long been needed by England's agricultural and Church interests.

The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, along with its unsuccessful predecessors, clearly upheld the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church Establishment. Parliament's delaying tactics rose, not from controversy over this issue, but from the complexity of the problem and a prevailing anxiety not to interfere with private property. Not only did Russell's bill specifically recognize the Church's right to the tithe, but it maintained the indisputable rights, legal and traditional, of the lay and ecclesiastical impropiators.

It was the pressing need to aid agriculture by removing an "inquistorial impost," to permit capital freely to be invested in land, to strengthen the spiritual appeal of the Anglican system by ameliorating the uncordial relations between parson and congregation, and to dissipate the growing disorder, which finally compelled a reluctant Parliament to initiate tithe reform. The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 essentially was a conservative measure, essentially an economic and not a religious reform. As such, it succeeded in laying the tithe ghost until the 1870's when agriculture, in the midst of another decline, revealed its dissatisfaction with the existing tithe system.

The Higher Learning in Puritan England

By Richard Schlatter*



ISTORIANS have long been aware of the importance of the Great Debate about religion and learning which took place in seventeenth-century England. In the 1650's, George Fox, William Dell, John Webster, Gerrard Winstanley and a number of other sectarians vigorously attacked learning as a prerequisite for the ministry; they were answered with equal vigor by a number of pamphleteers among whom Seth Ward, John Wilkins, Joseph Sedgwick, Henry Thurman, and Thomas Hall were the leaders. According to Anthony Wood,

"in these late times when the dregs of the people grew wiser than their teachers, and pretended to have received revelations, visions, inspirations, and I know not what, and, therefore, above all religion ordinarily professed, nothing could satisfy their insatiable desires but aiming at an utter subversion of [the Universities]. Intelligent men knew and saw very well that it was their intent to rout up all and to ruin those things that smelt of an Academy, never rejoicing more than when they could trample on the gown and bring humane learning and arts into disgrace."¹

This outburst in the middle of the century was only a particularly violent phase of a controversy which had begun much earlier and has continued to the present. Its major phases have been studied by many of the standard authorities on seventeenth-century religious history.² It was essentially a controversy between the radical religious sects and the main bodies of Puritans. The radicals—Seekers, Quakers, Ranters, Familists, some Baptist groups, and in general all those with antinomian tendencies—carried the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith to the point of denying that any human helps, including learning, are

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¹Andrew Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford, 1891) Vol. I, p. 292. See the whole passage, pp. 291-6.

²References may be found in the words of Rufus M. Jones, William Haller, Perry Miller; in W. C. Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912) and *Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919); in G. H. Sabine's Introduction to *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (Cornell, 1941); and most recently in W. Schenk, *Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution* (London, 1948), and W. A. L. Vincent, *State and School Education 1640-1660 in England and Wales* (London, 1950).

necessary or useful in achieving salvation. They put all their confidence in the "mere motion of the spirit."

John Spencer, who was supposed to have been a coachman before he turned preacher, said that "the scriptures doth plainly affirm, that the true understanding of scriptures comes not by humane learning, by arts and tongues, but by the spirit of God."³ Samuel How, the famous cobbler-turned-preacher, admitted that learning was necessary for translating the Bible, but he added that "that man which can do so [translate] is ever the more able to understand the spiritual meaning of the word thereby, that I deny."⁴ In fact, he said, "suppose two men, both alike indued with grace from God, and alike gifted with by his Spirit, the one a learned man, and the other an unlearned man, which of these two should be chosen into the ministry. . . .? The unlearned man."⁵ His reasons for this answer were summarized by a sympathetic reader who wrote in the margin (p. 13) of the McAlpin copy of this work, "As the artificial heat of Spiritous Liquors destroyeth the natural heat of the body, so doth the study of worldly wisdom destroy the wisdom of the Spirit which is of God."

During the climax of the debate in 1654, John Webster repeated all the usual arguments at length. Learned ministers "have drawn theology into a clear and strict logical method and thereby hedged in the free workings and manifestations of the Holy One"; "Academies have undertaken to teach that which none but the spirit of Christ is the true Doctor of."⁶ In the same year George Fox reiterated the usual Quaker arguments for not recognizing the authority of parish priests:

"They are such Ministers as go to Oxford and Cambridge, and call them the Well-heads of divinity, and so deny the fountains of living mercies, and there they study, and read books, and furnish themselves with Philosophy, and fine words, and other Mens matter, . . . when as the Apostle saith, he was not made a Minister by the will of man . . . and denied all his learning which he had got by the will of man at the feet of Gamaliel."⁷

³*A Short Treatise Concerning the lawfulness of every mans exercising his gift as God shall call him thereunto* (1641), p. 5.

⁴*The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching without Humane-Learning* (1640), pp. 22-3.

⁵Pp. 20-1.

⁶*Academiæ Examē or the Examination of Academies, Wherein is discussed and examined the Matter, Method and Customes of Academic, and Scholastick Learning, and the insufficiency thereof discovered and laid open* (1654), pp. 14, 10; see also pp. 4, 9, 7.

⁷*A Paper sent forth into the world from them that are scornfully called QUAKERS* (1654), reprinted in A. C. Ward, *A Miscellany of Tracts and Pamphlets* (World's Classics, 1927), pp. 247-8.

The same kind of argument is to be found in the numerous pamphlets of William Dell, the most notorious enemy of clerical learning in the Commonwealth period.⁸ A few years earlier, Roger Williams had been driven from Massachusetts for holding somewhat similar views about the insufficiency of learning, and as a follower of Mistress Anne Hutchinson, the Boston antinomian, was heard to say these words:

"Come along with me . . . I'll bring you to a woman that preaches better Gospel than any of your black-coats that have been at the Ninneversity . . . I had rather hear such a one that speaks from the mere motion of the spirit, without any study at all, than any of your learned scholars, although they may be fuller of Scripture."⁹

In attacking the orthodox Puritans on this point of learning, the sectarians were probing a tender spot. For the orthodox had always accused the Church of Rome of substituting the letter for the spirit and of erecting a vast body of learned, scholastic philosophy in support of heresy. Every orthodox minister admitted that grace was the *unum necessarium*, and that "a man having a learned head and an unsanctified heart is the fittest . . . instrument for the Devil to do mischief with."¹⁰ The sectarians, or populist Puritans, were merely carrying to their logical extreme doctrines which the orthodox had long preached.¹¹

Nevertheless, the main Puritan groups had always insisted on the necessity of a learned ministry, and orthodox ministers in 17th century England, attacked by enthusiastic prophets of inspiration, sometimes

⁸*The Way of True Peace and Unity* (1649), in A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* (London, 1938), pp. 310, 313. Further references can be found in the pamphlets which Dell published in the 1650's which are reprinted in his *Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1817); see especially Vol. II, pp. 20, 83.

⁹From Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence* (1654), quoted in S. E. Morison, *Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 176. Three other enthusiasts denied the necessity of learning for a minister but added that it could be useful if sanctified: John Everard, *Gospel Treasures* (1653), pp. 199ff. in 1757 ed., Germantown, Pa.; Francis Rous, *Treatises and Meditations* (1657), pp. 617-20; John Saltmarsh, *Sparkles of Glory* (1647), p. 53, and *Some Drops of the Viall* (1646), p. 5. Accounts of these men are to be found in Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London, 1909) and William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938).

¹⁰Robert Boreman, *The Triumph of Learning over Ignorance and Falsehood* (1653), p. 1. Similar statements are to be found in Henry Thurman, *A Defence of Human Learning in the Ministry* (Oxford, 1660), p. 9, and Thomas Hall, *Vindiciae Literarium, the Schools Guarded* (1654), pp. 49, 58.

¹¹An excellent account of this development, with particular relation to the debate about learning in the 1650's, is in Perry Miller's *New England Mind* (New York, 1939), XXX, ch. III. See also W. Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, ch. VIII. For an account of the orthodox Puritan position at a later stage of the debate, see my *Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1940), ch. II.

made extreme statements in defense of the authority of the learned expert:

"An ungodly man may be ordinarily in the right, when a godly man without such helps [learning and wit] may be mistaken. And therefore it is a desperate and destructive conceit in any to think that because he hath the Spirit, he is therefore more able to expound Scripture, or teach it to the people, or understand controversies, than learned men that have not the Spirit of Holiness."¹²

"A Minister is in the Church as a physician in a town" and "the priests lips must preserve knowledge, and the people must ask the Law at their mouths."¹³ The orthodox were unanimous in their denunciation of those who "go from weaving, sawing, carpentry, shoe-making, to the pulpit . . . being void of all learning, tongues, logic, arts, sciences . . . and yet cannot show that the Holy Ghost hath given to them . . . the knowledge of the mystery of the Gospel by revelation without the teaching of flesh and blood, as he did to the Apostles."¹⁴

Looked at from the point of view of religion, the debate was part of the eternal controversy about reason and faith, rational and intuitive epistemologies: the sectaries put the emphasis on inspiration, and the more conservative Puritans, although recognizing the importance of inspiration, wanted it tested by reason. But in the circumstances of the time, the debate was also political. Church and State were both institutions of government, and an attack on the authority of the learned man in religion was also an attack on the expert in politics. The radical contention that every man, however ignorant, has a divine right to judge for himself in religion led straight to the claim that every man has a natural right to judge for himself in matters of politics; and the radicals who attacked the exclusive authority of the learned in religion were often levellers who attacked the exclusive authority of the educated upper classes in politics.

In both New and Old England the learned ministers were quick to point out that their enemies were in fact subversive agitators trying

¹²Richard Baxter, *The Unreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655), Pt. II, p. 163. See also, his *Judgment of the Nonconformists of the Interest of Reason in Matters of Religion* (1676), especially pp. 12, 14, 18.

¹³Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus, The Reformed Pastor* (2nd ed.), 1657, p. 324; Joseph Sedgwick, *A Sermon . . . or, An Essay to the discovery of the Spirit of Enthusiame*, (1653), p. 25; Thomas Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded* (1651), p. 23. See also Henry Thurman, *A Defence of Humane Learning*, p. 15.

¹⁴Samuel Rutherford, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, opening the secrets of Familisme and Antinomianism* (1648), Pt. I, ch. VIII.

to undermine all social order, levellers, Jesuit plotters, and Anabaptists like the "Taylor-King of Leyden [who] burnt all books save the Bible."¹⁵

The orthodox Puritans were opponents of Stuart tyranny, but they were not levelling democrats. Again, they thought of themselves as holding a middle position between the extremes of absolutism and anarchy. One conservative, writing in the 1649's, claimed that the orthodox Puritan Churches were the chief bars against "tyranny and anarchy; they are the mightiest impediments both to the exorbitancy of monarchs, which has been and is our misery, and to the extravagancy of the common multitude, attempting to correct and subject all Parliaments to their own foolish desires,—which is like to be the matter of our next exercise and trouble."¹⁶ With the defeat of Charles I, levelling did become, as Baillie prophesied, the chief "exercise and trouble" of the orthodox, and they were perfectly aware that their defence of the privileges of learning was a defence against what they thought of as anarchy and mob rule.¹⁷

The enemies of a learned clergy denied the right of the established Church to silence and persecute ignorant heretics, and became champions of religious toleration.¹⁸ They attacked tithes—one of the principal economic supports of the learned ministers and of the universities which trained them. They proposed radical schemes of educational reform

¹⁵Thomas Hall, *Vindiciae Literarum*, Preface; and his *Pulpit Guarded*, Preface; Henry Thurman, *Defence of Human Learning*, pp. 42-4; Joseph Sedgwick, *A Sermon*, p. 11; Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, quoted in Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1938), pp. 156, 768; Robert Boreman, *Triumph of Learning*, pp. 11-2; Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (2nd ed., 1646), Pt. III, pp. 261-2.

¹⁶Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, Epistle Dedicatory (2nd ed., 1646), quoted in Christopher Hill and Edmund Dell, *The Good Old Cause* (London, 1949), p. 314.

¹⁷Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth* (1659), pp. 90-1, 230-3. In 1670, a Harvard class orator turned to the governor and magistrates assembled for the commencement exercises and said in Latin:

"The ruling class would have been subjected to mechanics, cobblers, and tailors; the gentry would have been overwhelmed by lewd fellows of the baser sort . . . nor would we have rights, honors, or magisterial ordinances . . . but plebiscites, appeals to base passions, and revolutionary rumblings, if these our fathers had not founded the University."

Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 250.

¹⁸Two of the most prominent writers who linked a plea for toleration with an attack on learning as prerequisite for the clergy were William Walwyn and Richard Overton; their principal pamphlets are readily available in William Haller, *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York, 1934), and in Haller and Godfrey Davies, *The Leveller Tracts*, (New York, 1944). Other references are to be found in W. K. Jordan's encyclopaedic *Development of Religious Toleration in England*, especially Vols. II and III (London, 1938, 1940).

which would have destroyed the effectiveness of the universities as seminaries of the established Church.¹⁹ The advocates of toleration won a temporary victory during the Commonwealth, and the learned clergy had to endure the competition of preachers even less educated than John Bunyan the tinker. The Barebones Parliament made a zealous attempt to abolish tithes, and it set up a committee to consider educational reform. William Dell, the most notorious of the pamphleteering enemies of a learned ministry, was made master of Caius College, Cambridge.^{19-a}

Many of these ramifications of the great debate about learning during the Commonwealth period have been explored by the various authorities on that period. But one aspect has passed unnoticed. Possibly because it has usually been assumed that the radicals attacked all learning when they attacked the learning of the ministers,²⁰ not much attention has been paid to what they had to say about the positive functions of the higher learning. In fact, not one of the enemies of the learned ministry, so far as I can discover, attacked learning as such. What they did was much more interesting.

Arguing that learning should be divorced from religion and that theological science is a vain and impious attempt to trap God in a set of man-made formulae, they went on to criticize the higher learning of the day, and to speculate about the proper function of learning in society. They argued that learning as well as religion had been spoiled by the mixture of the two, and that learning so corrupted was used as an instrument of oligarchical domination. To the orthodox who charged that their disrespect for traditional clerical learning led to anarchy, the radicals replied that the traditional clerical learning was a corrupt tool of tyranny. To the question, "knowledge for what?," they answered that knowledge was a utilitarian instrument for the relief of man's estate.

In alliance with religion, the radicals said, learning had become an esoteric jargon, a mysterious mumbo-jumbo, a magical lore serving no rational or useful purpose. In the universities, they claimed, this learning was surrounded with an archaic ritual and ceremony designed

¹⁹Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution* (London, 1930), especially ch. VII, and W. A. L. Vincent, *State and School Education, 1640-1660*.

^{19-a}Conservatives like Anthony Wood thought that the universities would have "certainly gone to the pot had not Monk come opportunely out of Scotland for their relief." *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), Vol. II, p. 350.

²⁰Most recently by W. A. L. Vincent, *State and Education 1640-1660*, ch. VIII. The author accepts uncritically the statements of contemporary defenders of learning like Anthony Wood, who accused the antinomians of wishing to destroy all learning. Vincent and the earlier writers on education do, however, note that the radicals, especially William Dell, did want to preserve and extend elementary schools.

to give it a kind of artificial dignity; difficult and expensive to acquire, it was a password which alone admitted one to the exclusive fraternity of the learned; it was used by the learned tribe to over-awe the vulgar and persuade them to submit to the rule of their betters in Church and State; and thus it had acquired an honorific value, as a symbol of power, superior to true learning whose growth it hindered.

William Dell, a chaplain in Cromwell's army, who railed against tithes and received £200 a year in tithes from his living in Bedfordshire, who denounced infant baptism and had his children baptized, and who was the most violent of the Commonwealth opponents of the universities and yet accepted the mastership of Caius College, Cambridge, was heartily detested in conservative academic circles on both sides of the Atlantic.²¹ His pamphlets repeated all the usual antinomian arguments against learning in religion. True religion, he said, is always opposed by the carnal world, and in the true Church there is no hierarchy of powers but "an equality between all Christians"; consequently,

the dull and drowsy divinity of synods and schools cannot be the true word of Christ, for that meets with no opposition. . . . at all from the world, . . . but is rather praised and embraced and honored with degrees and scarlet, and the professors . . . of it are in credit with men and worldly powers and receive from them riches, honor, and quiet life."²²

Religion has been partly reformed in England, but in the universities "the same philosophy . . . and the same school-divinity . . . are yet instilled into the youth and students as were many hundred years ago in the darkest times of popery," and in their outward forms they still cling to "their hoods, caps, scarlet robes, doctoral ring, kiss, gloves, their doctoral dinner and music."²³ Thus divinity is loaded with honors and "wrapped up in human learning, to deter the common people from the study of an enquiry after it, and to cause them still to expect all divinity from the clergy who by their education have attained to that humane learning which the plain people are destitute of."²⁴ The clergy say that "arts and tongues are the cups in which God drinks to us. In what said condition then are the common and plain people, that they cannot pledge

²¹See Charley Chauncy's commencement sermon at Harvard, 1655, quoted in Miller and Johnson, *The Puritans*, p. 706, and Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, p. 508, n. 3. Dell's sermons on education, published between 1646 and 1652, were collected together in his *Select Works* (1773), and again in the two volumes of *The Works* (1817), from which my references are taken.

²²*Works*. Vol. II, pp. 39, 46-7.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 111-2. S. E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, describes seventeenth-century academic ritual in detail; see especially p. 34.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 149, 150, 188.

him. But only the learned clergy keep these cups to themselves, as heretofore they kept the cup in the sacrament."²⁵

John Webster's *Academiarum Examen* (1654) was a sufficiently able attack on university learning to merit a reply from two of the best scholars of the day, Seth Ward and John Wilkins, whose *Vindiciae Academiarum* was published the same year. Opposing the spirit to the letter in typical antinomian fashion, Webster condemned traditional theology as a "confused chaos of needless, frivolous, fruitless, trivial . . . disputes."²⁶ The faults of this kind of learning, he went on to say, infected all other kinds of learning:

"Those sciences that the Schools usually comprehend under the title of humane are by them divided . . . into two sorts, speculative and practick: where their greatest crime lies in making some merely speculative, that are of no use or benefit to mankind unless they be reduced into practice."²⁷

What is the use of logic or politics or metaphysics if they serve no other end than fruitless speculation? The universities spend far too much time on the study of languages because they have forgotten that the purpose of learning a language is to be able to read its literature.²⁸

Webster had an historical explanation for this fatal mixing of theology and the liberal arts: the Greeks and Romans, he said, set up academies to teach useful learning but also to fit students "for the service of their idols and imaginary gods," and the Christians merely copied the ancients. If they had taught only "humane science," they would not have "injured theology, which is above them, nor the things of nature which they account below them."²⁹

"O that the Schools . . . would leave their idle and fruitless speculations, and not to be too proud to put their hands to the coals and the furnace, where they might find ocular experiments to confute their fopperies and produce effects that would be beneficial to all posterities."³⁰

Instead, the universities serve no other purpose than to produce proud scholars who use their learning to awe the ignorant, "to enhance their own reputations, and to suck money out of the spectators."³¹

²⁵*Works*. Vol. II, p. 174.

²⁶P. 15. Webster dedicated his book to Major-General Lambert who, he claims, has heard his opinions with favor.

²⁷P. 18.

²⁸Pp. 19-21, 84.

²⁹Pp. 2-3.

³⁰P. 71.

³¹Pp. 16, 12.

The same arguments, in whole or in part, were repeated by a considerable number of contemporary antononian writers,³² among whom the Quakers were especially prominent. George Fox's *Primer for the Schollers and Doctors of Europe* (1659) is a diatribe against the vanity of university learning which scholars use "to make a trade, and to keep people blind by your high expressions" (p. 55). Orthodox ministers "are such as are called of men Masters . . . and have the chiefest place in the Assemblies . . . and lay heavy burthens upon the people," and they "are such preachers as take a text . . . and take a weeks time to study what they can raise out of it, adding to it their own wisdom, inventions, imaginations and heathenish authors, and then on the first day of the week go amongst the people . . . and say, *Hear the word of the Lord*, and for money tell people what they have scraped together."³³ Fox charged that traditional theological learning had been purposely constructed to preserve the distinctions of rich and poor, ruler and ruled, to the benefit of the clergy.³⁴ William Penn denounced learning when it was used to support claims to wealth, power, and personal honor, and complained that the orthodox "place the ground of divine knowledge in human arts and sciences, that thereby you may ingross a function to yourselves, and keep up your trade of yearly gain upon the poor people."³⁵

Still another prominent Quaker, Thomas Lawson, explained that when, in the days after the first apostles, the clergy found themselves without inspiration, they substituted for it pagan learning and academic ritualism in order to retain their wealth and power. "To gain honor, reputation, and reverence, . . . divers degrees and titles are conferred according to their standing . . . Bachelor of Arts . . . Master of Arts . . . etc. When University students have got a degree in the arts, then they have a gown and a cap, and the name bachelor." Lawson agreed with John Webster that Christian universities had copied the cor-

³²See Samuel How, *The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching without Humane-Learning*, especially pp. 32, 37. The first edition of the book was dated 1640, but it was reprinted in 1644, 1755, and 1692. Also, Thomas Collier, *The Pulpit-Guard Routed* (1651; an answer to Thomas Hall's *Pulpit Guarded*), pp. 3-4, his *Compendious Discourse About Some of the Greatest Matters of Christian Faith* (1682), Epistle, and his *Brief Discovery of the Corruption of the Ministrie of the Church of England* (1649), p. 10.

³³A paper sent forth into the world, in A. C. Ward, *A Miscellany of Tracts* (World's Classics), pp. 246, 252.

³⁴A *Collection of Epistles* (1698), Epistles 222 and 262. For other Quaker statements on learning, see Fox's *Journal*, (Everyman Library, 1924), Ch. I and p. 111; Robert Barclay, *The Apology* (1676), 1736 ed., pp. 201, 276ff., 308-16, 328-40; Samuel Fisher, *Rusticus ad Academicos* (1660).

³⁵No Cross, No Crown (1668), Ch. VII, and *Truth Exalted* (1668), in *Works* (1726), Vol. I, p. 243.

ruptions of the pagan academies: "now the Romans, through Constantine, . . . received Christianity by a lump and . . . they continued much of the old stuff, and other nations received the same from them, as now in our universities."³⁶

A Philadelphia Quaker, Daniel Leeds, wrote in 1688 that

"To a Common-wealth there can be nothing more pernicious than Learning and Science, wherein if some happen to excell the rest, all things are carried by their determination, as taking upon themselves to be most knowing, who thereupon laying hold upon the simplicity and unskillfulness of the multitude, usurp all authority to themselves, which is oft the occasion of the changing popular states into Oligarchy."³⁷

But Leeds was not an enemy to learning when it was not used for political purposes—his book was an anthology of passages from the writings of such men as Withers, Quarles, and Francis Bacon—one of the earliest American reprints of any of these authors.

The critics of academic learning quoted in the foregoing pages were interested primarily in religious reformation. Their remarks about learning are mostly incidental to their principal concern of purifying religion. A number of other writers of the period, most of whom were also devotees of the inner light, but whose primary interest was social and political reformation, came to the same conclusions about the corruption of the higher learning. William Walwyn, the Leveller, and Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger, both made trenchant criticisms of the higher learning of the day.

Pleading for toleration and defending the sects against the charge that they were opposed to all learning, Walwyn wrote:

"And as for learning, as learning goes nowadays, what can any judicious man make of it, but as an art to deceive and abuse the understandings of men and to mislead them to their ruin? . . . No man can be so simple as to imagine that they [the sects] conceive it not lawful, or not useful for men to understand the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin; but withal, if they conceive there is no more matter in one language than another, nor no cause why men should be so proud for understanding of languages, as therefore to challenge to themselves the sole dealing in all spiritual matters, who (I say) can blame them

³⁶*A Mite into the Treasury, being a word to artists, especially to Heptotechnists, the Professors of the Seven Liberal Arts, so called* (1680), pp. 42-3, 46.

³⁷*The Temple of Wisdom and Virtue* (W. Bradford, Philadelphia, 1688), p. 119.

for this judgment?"³⁸ "It is the Ministers' interest, their living depending thereupon, to frame long methods and bodies of divinity, full of doubts and disputes, which indeed are made of purpose difficult to attain unto, that their hearers may be always learning . . . And thus they keep all in a mystery, that they only may be the oracles to dispense what and how they please."³⁹

Walwyn's fellow-Leveller, Richard Overton, characterized the typical orthodox minister as a "cunning *Hocus Pocus*," with a "syllogistical pair of britches," a "rhetorical cassock" and a "sophistical girdle," entangled in "the briary thickets of rhetorical glosses, sophistications, and scholastic interpretations" and claiming authority because "I have been of all the Universities of Christendom [and] have taken all their degrees."⁴⁰

Gerrard Winstanley's first published works (1648) were religious pamphlets typical of the inner light tradition and they repeated the familiar arguments against a learned ministry. He held fast to this tradition in his later works and always believed that "the knowledge of arts is but to speak methodically of what hath been, and to conjecture what shall be, both of which are uncertain to the speaker: but he that speaks from the original light within can truly say, I know what I say and I know whom I worship."⁴¹ However, after the mystical experience in which he believed God had commanded him to work for a communistic social order, his interests broadened and his criticisms of the higher learning came to resemble those of the more secular critics.

Winstanley repeated again and again that the clergy were essentially tools of tyranny:

³⁸*Power of Love* (1643), in Haller, *Tracts on Liberty*, Vol. II, pp. 300-2. See also Haller and Davies, *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 336, 363; Webster, *Academiarum Examen*, p. 22; and William Sprigg, *A Modest Plea for an Equal Common-wealth* (1659), pp. 54-5. Schenk, *Concern for Social Justice*, has some references to the Leveller attitude toward the universities; pp. 66, 70-1.

³⁹*The Compassionate Samaritane* (1644), in Haller, *Tracts*, Vol. III, pp. 77-83. See also *The Vanitie of the Present Churches* (1649), in Haller and Davies, *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 262-71. The anonymous author of *Tyrannipocrit* (1649) made similar charges; see especially pp. 12, 16, 28, 29; the author's main point was a plea for equality, economic as well as religious and political.

⁴⁰*The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution* (1645), in Haller, *Tracts*, Vol. III, pp. 211-2, 250, and *passim*. Three years earlier, Lord Brooke had accused the bishops of spending "their time in critical, cabalistical, sceptical, scholastical learning, which fills the head with empty notions, but gives no sound food to the reasonable part of man." *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is Exercised in England* (1642), in Haller, *Tracts*, Vol. II, p. 53.

⁴¹*The New Law of Righteousness* (1649), in Sabine's edition of his *Works*, p. 224. Sabine's Introduction, pp. 64-70, has a splendid account of Winstanley's ideas on education, to which I am much indebted.

"William the Conqueror promised, that if the Clergy would preach him up so that the people might be bewitched so as to receive him to be God's Anointed over them, he would give them the tenths of the lands' increase yearly; and they did it, and he made good his promises; and do we not yet see, that if the Clergy can get tithes and money they will turn as the ruling power turns, any way; to Popery, to Protestantism; for a King, against a King . . . ; they cry who bids most wages."⁴²

The weapon of the clergy is learning which they apply to the Gospels, "but alas, they mightily corrupt their [the Gospels] meaning, by their multitude of false expositions and interpretations."⁴³ When, at the time of the Reformation, the hypocrisy of the clergy had become apparent, they

"began to divine and deceive the people by a show of holiness, or spiritual doctrine, as they call it, difficult to be understood by any but themselves; persuading the people to believe or fancy that true freedom lay in hearing them preach and to enjoy that heaven which they say every man who believes their doctrine shall enjoy after he is dead: and so tell us of a Heaven and Hell after death which neither they nor we know what will be."⁴⁴

In recent times, Winstanley says, the more subtle ministers, realizing that they can no longer count upon the political power to aid them, have put their whole claim to authority on their learning: they are willing to give up tithes and persecution and hope to persuade the people "to look upon themselves as underlings to the scholars" and provide a voluntary maintenance for their ministers.⁴⁵

In some of the most remarkable pages⁴⁶ in all the literature of the 17th century, printed in his *Law of Freedom* (1652), Winstanley denounced the traditional Puritan theology of the day. The orthodox minister

takes upon him to foretell what shall befall a man after he is dead and what that world is beyond the Sun and beyond the Moon, etc. And if any man tell him there is no reason for what you say, he answers you must not judge of heavenly and spiritual things by reason, but you must believe what is told you . . .

⁴²*Works*, pp. 357-8. See also pp. 387, 522-3. Sometimes he says the clergy duped the civil power into supporting them; see pp. 238, 523.

⁴³Pp. 238-9. Winstanley sometimes compared clerical learning to witchcraft; pp. 242, 597. An anonymous Digger pamphleteer in 1649 wrote that kings "have their jugglers who can play the Hocus Pocus and invent a thing they call religion"; p. 632.

⁴⁴Pp. 522-3. See also, pp. 409, 504.

⁴⁵P. 239.

⁴⁶*Works*, pp. 565-70.

This is the doctrine of a subtle running spirit, to make an ungrounded wise man mad for many time when a wise and understanding heart is assaulted with this doctrine of a God, a Devil, a Heaven, and a Hell, . . . his spirit not being strongly grounded in the knowledge of creation, nor in the temper of his own heart, he strives and stretches his brain to find out the depth of that doctrine and cannot attain to it; for indeed it is not knowledge, but imagination: and so by poring and puzzling himself in it, loses that wisdom he had, and becomes distracted and mad And let me tell you, they who preach this divining doctrine are the murderers of many a poor heart, who is bashful and simple, and that cannot speak for himself, but that keeps his thoughts to himself

So that this divining spiritual doctrine is a cheat and indeed the subtle clergy do know, that if they can but charm the people by this their divining doctrine, to look after riches, Heaven and Glory when they are dead, that then they shall easily be the inheritors of the earth, and have the deceived people to be their servants.

Finally, Winstanley claimed that the false learning of the orthodox had prevented the growth of true learning: "the secrets of the Creation have been locked up under the traditional, parrot-like speaking from the Universities and Colleges for Scholars."⁴⁷ He was, as we shall see, determined to destroy theological learning in order that true learning might flourish.

Walwyn and Winstanley were the most trenchant of the more secular critics of the higher learning in the seventeenth century. But they did not stand alone. In 1659, when an extraordinary number of men felt impelled to publish their schemes for making England a heaven on earth, several pamphlets repeated some of the earlier criticisms of academic learning.⁴⁸ Of these the most interesting is the *Modest Plea for an Equal Commonwealth Against Monarchy*, not because it adds anything to the arguments of earlier critics, but because of its almost

⁴⁷P. 271.

⁴⁸William Covel, *A Declaration Unto the Parliament . . . with The Method of a Commonwealth* (1659), especially pp. 5, 6, 8-9, 21; Peter Cornelius, *A Way Propounded to Make the poor in these and other Nations happy* (1659), especially pp. 5, 18, 19, and his *Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations* (1659), reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, Vol. VI (2nd ed., London, 1811, especially pp. 489, 496). Most of the same ideas are to be found in Henry Stubbe, *A Light Shining out of Darkness* (1659). Stubbe was an ambiguous character who conformed after 1660 and attacked the Royal Society at the instance of some conservative opponents of the new learning; D. N. B. and Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), Vol. II, pp. 412-20. Because of this pamphlet, Stubbe was driven from Oxford by Edward Reynolds, dean of Christ Church, later bishop of Norwich, whose *Sermon Touching the Use of Humane Learning* (1658) is an able defence of the orthodox position.

wholly secular tone. The author, William Sprigg, was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, a philosopher, and an exponent of political ideas not unlike those of James Harrington. He had none of the sectarians' concern for the interests of the ignorant and poor, but with all the urbanity of an Oxford Common Room suggested that the universities might turn from religion and "stoop to a more honest, civil, notion of schools of education and humane literature, for training up the youth of the gentry in learning and good manners" (p. 59). His notions of what the higher learning ought to be were not those of a Fox or a Winstanley; but his criticisms of the traditional learning were the same as theirs.⁴⁹

All of this criticism of academic learning, like the religious radicalism which produced it, was an outgrowth of the Protestant tradition: the radicals merely carried to their extreme logical conclusion old Protestant principles which had once been used to condemn the Church of Rome. The orthodox Puritans themselves criticized, in their Roman and Anglican manifestations, clericalism and the sharp separation of priest from layman, ritualism, and the elaborate theology of the Middle Ages which, they said, had departed from the pure simplicity of the primitive Church. Much of the radicals' critique of scholastic learning was no doubt borrowed from the orthodox Puritans who had denounced the Oxford and Cambridge of pre-Civil War days: Spriggs' criticisms of Oxford, which spring from the sectarian movement, closely parallel Milton's criticisms of Cambridge, which spring from the main current of Puritan educational thought.⁵⁰ To understand the thought of the radical critics of the higher learning we must set it against the background of the whole Reformation movement.

But we must also consider it in the light of what came after, for it is obviously a part of the modern, secular movement in education which has overthrown the traditional curriculum of the Renaissance

⁴⁹The relevant passages are pp. 21ff. and 45ff. Sprigg's remarks on the academic learning of the day are specially interesting, coming from one who, unlike many critics, knew the Oxford of the Commonwealth from the inside.

⁵⁰How close the radical and orthodox positions were is illustrated by John Hall, *A Humble Motion to the Parliament of England Concerning the Advancement of Learning and the Reformation of the Universities* (1649); Perry Miller calls this a statement of the orthodox position, *New England Mind*, p. 508, n. 4, while A. Clark, *Life and Time of Anthony Wood*, Vol. I, p. 294, n. 3, calls it an antinomian attack. I think Clark is right, but the point is debatable. Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, pp. 296ff., gives a splendid account of Milton's educational ideas.

and the Reformation, has divorced learning from theology, and insists that learning shall be judged by the social purpose which it serves.⁵¹

It is not surprising that the radicals should have adopted this modern attitude when we consider that seventeenth-century England was the birthplace of so many modern social and political ideas, or that in 1651 the most forceful mind of the age, Thomas Hobbes, had made a blistering attack on traditional scholarship and a searching analysis of learning as an instrument of power.⁵² But a brief comparison of the seventeenth-century criticisms of the higher learning and those of a more recent writer will help to demonstrate the fact.

The critics of the seventeenth century claimed that the higher learning of the day was to some extent a *Hocus Pocus*, a kind of witchcraft that had once served for the worship of pagan gods, "not knowledge but imagination," "made of purpose difficult to attain unto," oracular, wrapped in the obscurity of dead languages, and used to dazzle the unlearned. Writing in 1899, Thorstein Veblen remarked:

"In great part, the early learning consisted in an acquisition of knowledge and facility in the service of a supernatural agent Knowledge of this kind owes its serviceability . . . to its recondite character The recondite element in learning is still, as it has been in all ages, a very attractive and effective element for the purpose of impressing, or even imposing upon, the unlearned. . . ." ⁵³

The writers of the seventeenth century charged that learning had been divided into "speculative and practick" and that the former, although useless, was honored while the latter, although useful, was scorned. Veblen wrote of the distinction between

"esoteric and exoteric knowledge, the former . . . comprising such knowledge as is primarily of no economic or industrial effect, and the latter comprising chiefly knowledge of industrial processes and of natural phenomena which were habitually turned to account for the material purposes of life. This line of demarcation has in time become . . . the normal line between the higher learning and the lower" (p. 367).

⁵¹See Sabine's Introduction to Winstanley's *Works*, p. 70; Schenk, *Concern for Social Justice*, p. 160.

⁵²I am not, of course, suggesting that the radicals read the *Leviathan*. But there is evidence that contemporaries saw a connection between their ideas and those of Hobbes: the *Vindiciae Academicarum* (1654) of Seth Ward and John Wilkins was a reply to John Webster, William Dell, and Hobbes.

⁵³*The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Modern Library edition), pp. 364-6. Veblen's remarks on the honorific value of the dead languages are on pp. 394-5.

Finally, the earlier critics scorned the ancient rituals and honorific titles, derived, they thought, from pagan religion, which were used to enhance the prestige of the learned and thus preserve the old social order. Again, Veblen wrote

"that the learned class in all primitive communities are great sticklers for form, precedent, gradations of rank, ritual, ceremonial vestments, and learned paraphernalia generally. . . . Even today there are such things in the usage of the learned community as the cap and gown, matriculation, initiation, and graduation ceremonies, and the conferring of scholastic degrees, dignities, and prerogatives. . . . What these ritualistic survivals go to indicate is a prevalence of conservatism, if not of reactionary sentiment, especially among the higher schools where the conventional learning is cultivated."^{53-a}

Whether we regard the seventeenth-century radicals as early social anthropologists or Veblen as a belated antinomian—and something can be said for either view—the parallels are striking.

Moreover, having condemned the actual learning of the day, the radicals went on to outline educational reforms which an admirer of Veblen might approve: they wanted a state-supported educational system which would produce good citizens for a popular commonwealth and scientists who would improve the health and wealth of the population. The best-known of the many schemes for a system of public schools is that of William Dell, outlined in his *Right Reformation of Learning, Schools and Universities* (1646). He wanted elementary schools in every village, grammar schools in every town, and universities in every large city so that the students could live cheaply at home, "which would be the greatest advantage to learning that can be thought of." He wanted the universities to be "schools of good learning for the instructing and educating youth in the knowledge of tongues and of the liberal arts and sciences, thereby to make them useful and serviceable to the Commonwealth."⁵⁴ He added that "the mathematics especially are to be had in good esteem in universities, as arithmetic, geometry, geography, and the like, which as they carry no wickedness in them, so are they besides very useful to human society and the affairs of the present life" (p. 219).

^{53-a}Pp. 367, 368, 377. Compare the astonishing remarks on academic ritual in Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 12, including n. 2. English Puritans of the Commonwealth period found some of the ritual at Oxford too "prelatical" and were negligent in observing it, but conservative Anglicans restored it in full after 1660; Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, Vol. I, pp. 356-9, and Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), Vol. II, p. 603.

⁵⁴*Works* (1817), Vol. II, p. 56.

John Webster's *Academiarum Examen* (1654) was the most elaborate discussion of a modern curriculum which would be "politic, useful, and profitable, enabling men for all kinds of undertakings, both military and civil" (p. 2). He wanted to broaden the curriculum, recommending, for example, the study of Bodin, Machiavelli, and Hobbes as more useful authorities on political science than Aristotle (pp. 88-9). But his principal concern was for science: he was an acknowledged admirer of Bacon, and wanted the universities to set themselves the *New Atlantis* as a model and continue the work begun by Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, William Harvey, Kepler, Tycho Brahe, William Gilbert, and Pierre Gassendi for the "benefit of mankind." His book is a remarkable combination of antinomianism in religion with an able popularization of Baconian philosophy, and the man himself was a religious teacher, physician, and an amateur metallurgist.^{54-a}

In Gerrard Winstanley's utopia, all boys were to be "acquainted with all Arts and Languages," for "by this traditional knowledge they may be the better able to govern themselves like rational men" and "may become thereby good Commonwealths men."⁵⁵ After this training in the liberal arts, youths were to choose one of five professional studies: (1) agriculture (including the allied arts of milling, brewing, pharmacy, etc.), (2) metallurgy, (3) animal husbandry (including weaving, shoemaking, etc.), (4) silviculture (including carpentry and architecture), or (5) natural science, all of which are "knowledge in the practice, and it is good" (pp. 576-9).

Several of these critics were especially concerned to see that learning should not be used as an excuse for making invidious distinctions and conferring special privileges and honors on the learned; for this purpose, they recommended that the study of the liberal arts should be coupled with the practice of some manual art.

"One sort of children shall not be trained up only to book learning, and no other employment, called Scholars, as they are in the Government of Monarchy, for then through idleness and exercised wit therein, they spend their time to find out policies to advance themselves to be Lords and Masters above their

^{54-a}Wood said of him that "though he proposed divers expedients (as he is pleased to style them) for the reforming of schools and the perfecting and promoting of all kind of science, yet he was very well known to be one who endeavoured to knock down learning and the ministry both together." Clark, *Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 294. See also, Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. II, p. 104.

⁵⁵*Works*, p. 576.

laboring brethren Therefore to prevent idleness and the danger of Machiavellian cheats, it is profitable for the Commonwealth, that children be trained up in trades and some bodily employment, as well as in learning languages and the histories of former ages."⁵⁶

Similar ideas on educational reform are to be found in the other critics of the traditional higher learning.⁵⁷ Moreover, many of the same ideas are to be found in the works of Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, J. A. Comenius, William Petty, and the other Commonwealth writers who have long been recognized as precursors of modern educational theory.⁵⁸

The writers who answered the radical critics of the higher learning defended the orthodox divinity of Puritanism with able arguments, as the modern authorities on Puritanism have amply demonstrated. But they had little of substance to say in answer to the radical charge that learning was used as an instrument of power: they believed in the necessity of an hierarchial society, and they saw nothing wrong in using learning to support the authority of the governing groups. "Learning," they said, "challenges a natural preeminence and superiority," and to deny the authority of learning is to be an enemy to all "order" and "government."⁵⁹ Academic degrees and ceremonies are merely matters of "orderliness" and "decent distinction," a part of the system of "government" and "dignities" in which the learned hold the highest rank.⁶⁰ The authority of learning it bound up with the maintenance of

⁵⁶Winstanley, *Works*, pp. 577, 579.

⁵⁷Walwyn, and Humphrey Brooke, in Haller and Davies, *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 336, 362-4, 383; Peter Cornelius, *A Way Propounded*, pp. 4, 6-7, 13-14; *Tyrannipocrit*, pp. 28-9; Dell, *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 222-3. Thomas Lawson was a competent botanist and his *Mite into the Treasury* defends the study of science; for the attitude of George Fox and Penn see the references in my *Social Ideas of Religious Leaders*, p. 241. Sprigg's *Modest Plea* was, again, less concerned with popular education and more with the education of statesmen, but he did emphasize science and attacked the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge, see pp. 45-55. John Hall, *An Humble Motion*, pp. 27, 28, 32-43.

⁵⁸Hartlib was interested in the educational ideas of Peter Cornelius; Schenk, *Concern for Social Justice*, p. 147. Webster quoted from one of the educational tracts of Comenius; *Academiarum Examen*, p. 22. John Hall was a friend of Hobbes and Hartlib; see under "Hall" in *D. N. B.*

⁵⁹Henry Thurman, student of Christ Church, *A Defence of Humane Learning* (Oxford, 1660), pp. 17, 42, 44. Anthony Wood thought Thurman was a drunkard and a time-server who wrote his book to curry favor when he saw the tide turning toward conservatism in 1659; Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, Vol. I, pp. 359, 369, and Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. II, pp. 349-50.

⁶⁰Joseph Sedgwick, *A Sermon* (1653), pp. 15, 25, 11, 33-4. Sedgwick was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

magistracy, the social hierarchy, and civilization itself.⁶¹ The desire to substitute "inferior arts" such as optics, chemistry, architecture, and mathematics, "low, inferior, empty things," for the "superior arts and sciences" is typical of the subversive attack on learning which appears "rather to proceed from some of the worst Jesuits, than from a true Englishman, as tending to the ruin and confusion of our beloved Country."⁶² "Those parts of learning that are speculative are most sacred and have ever been in esteem where John of Leydens" have not subverted all "legal and sober constitutions."^{62-a}

By far the most able reply to the Commonwealth critics of the universities was written by Seth Ward and John Wilkins. In 1654 Ward was professor of astronomy at Oxford and Wilkins was master of Wadham College; both were interested in scientific knowledge—both became fellows of the Royal Society—and their reputations as scholars won them both bishoprics after the Restoration. Their *Vindiciae Academicarum* (1654) called John Webster a "Friar" and one of "the gang of vulgar Levellers" (pp. 6, 41, 43), but they had more interesting arguments.

They agreed with Webster and Hobbes that Aristotelian and scholastic learning ought not to dominate the universities, but they pointed out that it no longer did: the universities, they said, teach all the sciences Webster mentions, including the Copernican hypothesis, Aristotle is no longer the supreme authority, and the Baconian method is being introduced (pp. 23ff., 27ff., 32ff., 45-6). No doubt Ward and Wilkins were right in saying that Webster's criticisms were partly out of date—he had left Cambridge in the 1630's when the Laudian reaction was in full swing, he was wrong in supposing that Puritanism opposed the new scientific learning, and he probably had no way of knowing of the conferences at Wadham College, led by Ward and Wilkins, which discussed natural science and later helped to found the Royal Society.

⁶¹Thomas Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded* (1651), Preface and p. 23; *Vindiciae Literatum* (1654), pp. 26, 198; Edward Waterhouse, *An Humble Apologie for Learning* (1653), especially pp. 225-7. Hall was a learned Presbyterian, and unusually violent in his hatred of antinomianism; see F. J. Powicke, "New Light on an Old English Presbyterian," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Manchester, 1924). Waterhouse became a fellow of the Royal Society, but Anthony Wood called him a "cock-brain'd man" and a poor scholar, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. II, p. 774; his book is chaotic.

⁶²Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp. 214-5; *A Modest Reply, in answer to the Modest Plea* (1659), p. 11. Anthony Wood, speaking of Sprigg's *Modest Plea*, said that it was "weakly answered by a certain minister in a little pamphlet entitled *A Modest Reply*"; Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, Vol. I, p. 295.

^{62-a}Waterhouse, *An Humble Apologie*, p. 12.

Nevertheless, Ward and Wilkins certainly exaggerated when they said that the universities had abandoned the traditional curriculum: their distaste for scholasticism, whether Aristotelian or Ramean, was not shared by the more orthodox Puritans, and in any case, the universities went back to the traditional curriculum after 1660.⁶³

Ward and Wilkins were on stronger ground when they ridiculed Webster for his belief in such superstitions as cryptography, astrology, and the mysteries of the Rosicrucians and Jacob Boehme (pp. 5, 22, 30-1, 46). It was true that the antinomians had a strong leaning toward occult knowledge—Winstanley believed in astrology, Samuel Hering wanted the study of Boehme's writings to be taken up in the universities, and Francis Bampfield thought all knowledge lay hidden in Hebrew, the original natural language.⁶⁴ But the antinomians were not unique in their interest in the occult, and Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677) attacked the credulity of such noted rationalists as Henry More and Joseph Glanvill.

Finally, Ward and Wilkins agreed with Dell on the need for extending popular education, they agreed with Webster that laboratory science ought to be expanded in the universities, and, what is more important, they admitted that the social function of the universities prevented them from teaching practical subjects:

"Of those great numbers of youth which come to our Universities, how few are there whose design is to be absolute in Natural Philosophy? Which of the Nobility or Gentry desire, when they send their sons hither, that they should be sent to chemistry, or agriculture, or mechanics . . . ? The desire of their friends is not that they be engaged in those experimental things, but that their reason and fancy and carriage may be improved . . . that that may become rational and graceful speakers, and be of an acceptable behavior in their Countries."⁶⁵

None of the defenders of the universities replied to the radical charge that traditional learning was used to overawe the unlearned. That there was some truth in the charge we may gather from Richard Baxter's advice to clergymen in 1655:

⁶³See G. R. Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, England, 1950), pp. 88-92, and Vincent, *The State and School Education*, pp. 88-9. Ward and Wilkins also showed that Webster had taken much of his critique of Aristotelianism from the work of Pierre Gassendi, the French philosopher and scientist, d. 1655.

⁶⁴Winstanley, *Works*, p. 578; for Herring, see Schenk, *Concern for Social Justice*, pp. 142-4; for Bampfield, see the D. N. B. and A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, (Oxford, 1934).

⁶⁵*Appendix* in answer to Dell; p. 49; p. 50.

"It is most desirable that the Minister should be of parts above the people so far as to be able to teach them and awe them and manifest their weaknesses to themselves See that you preach some higher points that stall their understandings Take up some profound questions (such as the Schools voluminously agitate) and make it as plain as you can, that they may see that it is not your obscure manner of handling, but the matter itself that is too hard for them, and so may see that they are yet but children that have need of milk."⁶⁶

It cannot be our purpose here to draw the moral from this debate. Certainly our own tradition of scholarship and education owes much more to the learned divines of the Church of England than to the ignorant radicals of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, discussions about the proper relation between religion and learning, and about the function of education in a democracy continue—and will continue so long as learning flourishes. The seventeenth-century contributions to these discussions are still relevant.

⁶⁶Gildas Salvianus, *The Reformed Paster* (2nd ed., 1657), pp. 464-6. Compare Clement Walker, *History of Independency* (1648), quoted in Hill and Dell, *The Good Old Cause*, p. 369: "There can be no form of government without its proper mysteries, which are not longer mysteries than while they are concealed. Ignorance, and admiration arising from ignorance, are the parents of civil devotion and obedience."

The Anticlericalism of Gerrard Winstanley

By Fred Stripp*

"He who professes the service of a righteous God by preaching and prayer, and makes a Trade to get the possessions of the Earth, shall be put to death for a Witch and a Cheater."¹

THIS was the Fortieth Law in the Commonwealths Government, but no cleric or seminary professor was executed under this law, for the communist theocracy of Gerrard Winstanley never left the blue-prints.

It was the conviction of this left wing Leveller that sacerdotalism was worse than unnecessary; it was a prostitution of "the service of a righteous God," a crime calling for the death penalty.

Extant biographical references to Winstanley are scarce, but through the painstaking scholarship of George H. Sabine and David W. Petegorsky it seems reasonably clear that the register of the parish church of Wigan in Lancashire records his baptism in 1609; that his father, Edward of Wigan, was a cloth mercer, burgess, and gentleman of standing in his community, who died in his son's thirtieth year; that Gerrard was apprenticed at the age of twenty to the widow of a merchant taylor in London, becoming a freeman at age 25; that the Bishop of London's *Register* certifies his marriage to Susan King in 1640; and that he continued in the profession of cloth merchant until 1643, when he became a casualty of the wartime depression. Business failure forced him to accept hospitality from friends in Surrey, where he made a meager living pasturing cattle for the neighbors.

The disastrous harvest of 1648 caused a frightening shortage of food in a land already ravaged by war and plunder. Prices rose far beyond the purchasing power of the poor. Pride's Purge had inaugurated military dictatorship. Civilians rioted and soldiers mutinied. In the midst of this economic and political agitation Winstanley felt impelled by mystical guidance to launch a religio-communist experiment on

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¹"The Law of Freedom in a Platform or True Magistracy Restored" (1652), in George H. Sabine, *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (Cornell University Press, 1941), p. 597.

St. George's Hill near Oatlands. In April 1649, he enlisted about forty followers, "True Levellers," in a cooperative effort to cultivate the unoccupied waste lands, and from their digging on the common came the popular name, "Diggers."

This tiny band of the simple and peaceful poor suffered a more savage persecution than the mutineers and rioters, yet no Digger ever used force even in self-defense. Time and again their crops were uprooted, their houses burned, their wagons smashed, their tools, furniture and personal possessions stolen, even their horses injured and their cows beaten until their heads and sides were swollen. Men, women, and children were victims of mob violence, clubbed, beaten, imprisoned, threatened with death. One pregnant mother was knocked down and so brutally kicked that she suffered a miscarriage. After twelve long bitter months of patiently replanting and rebuilding, the little colony, in the face of armed sentries patrolling the heath, finally abandoned this practical attempt to make the earth "a common treasury."

Winstanley was profoundly disillusioned by the failure of the project he had launched with so much faith and optimism. Following its demise early in 1650, he was apparently inactive for two years until the publication of his final work, *The Law of Freedom*, early in 1652. In the dedicatory inscription to Cromwell, he states that he had intended publication two years earlier, but events had forced him to set it aside. A fire in his bones, however, induced a "resurrection," a compilation of his scattered papers and their presentation, to quiet his spirit.²

It is clear in his writings that he went through a theocracy akin to the Quakers' "Inner Light" experience. His business failure and his religious experience appear to have had close causal relationship. He went from the Anglican Church of his baptism and marriage into the Baptists, then became a Seeker, finally a Digger. He came to "rest" ultimately, in the Augustinian sense, through a revelation of theosophical communism.

His writings, spanning the period of the Second Civil War, 1648-1652, fall into six categories. Early in 1648, he issued two theological tracts characterized by the chiliastic mysticism of the day. Later in the same year, mysticism has given way to rationalism and God is synonymous with Reason. In January 1649, he has taken a third step in maturing politico-religious ideology. Private property is for Winstanley the cause of social evil, communal ownership the cure. His case is still

²David W. Petegorsky, *Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War* (Victor Gollancz, London, 1940) p. 211.

strongly religious, but not so exclusively as is his initial pamphlets. Theocratic communism on the pragmatic level of planting and digging on the common wastelands marks phase four of his literary efforts. *Fire in the Bush*, his last effort before the two-year silence, finds him returning to the more strictly theological pattern of early 1648, possibly in the reluctant conviction that, since his human venture had failed, the future of his cause must find its destiny in eschatology or theocracy.³ *The Law of Freedom*, chapter six of his literary saga, draws the blue prints for a divinely-ruled, communized England. In this Winstanleyan Utopia, he returns to a pragmatism in which man may play a significant part, but he has abandoned his former high hope that the poor would achieve the commonwealth unaided, as evidenced in his act of dedicating the book to Cromwell.

The last reference to Winstanley in official documents finds him the defendant in a suit brought against him in 1660 to recover 114 pounds allegedly contracted by him in the cloth business. This indicates the probability that in his later years he had become a moderately prosperous farmer.

We tread with frank uncertainty the quagmire of personal biography, but when we approach the anticlericalism of Gerrard Winstanley, we are on solid ground. For him, "Reason" and "Imaginary Power" are terms which polarize good and evil. Imaginary Power, at the evil extremity, has four branches: the preaching "universative" power, the kingly power, the power of lawyers, and the art of buying and selling. Of these, the clergy is the chief power; if it falls, all the rest fall with it. In his initial mystical tracts, this fall is prophesied in eschatological terms. Redemption requires seven dispensations. Winstanley's age is the sixth. God manifests himself in the sixth age in the flesh of the saints (lay preachers like Winstanley and their followers). The clergy, however, depend upon the "bare letter," and are not anointed by Christ within (as Winstanley's saints are). His first anticlerical thrust is a relatively mild one:

"He that preaches from the book and not from the anointing is no true minister but a hireling that preaches only to get a temporal living. Some old professors, and book-hirelings especially, are offended and brand the Saints as men full of errors. But you must be dead to custom before you can run into the sea of truth."⁴

³We use Petegorsky's five categories, adding *Fire in the Bush*, which he omits, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

⁴"The Mysterie of God," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

His second tract reaffirms the immediacy of redemption for the persecuted saints, "for the Lord is burning up the dross of our flesh and shaking down corruption in kingdoms and churches."⁵ Winstanley condemns legalism, ceremonialism, and what we call today the combination of Church and state. He deplores the union of ecclesiastic and magistrate, and, as we might expect from an anticlerical, indicates that it is magistracy which needs must purge itself of the poison of ecclesiastical power and "the pure reformation of civil magistracy would soon appear." It is ordained by God; ecclesiastical power is not, "but is got by crafty men from kings, to kill the truth and persecute the Saints."⁶

As Winstanley moves from mysticism to rationalism in the latter part of 1648, his barbs become sharper. He attacks the "hypocriticall darknesse" which has "overspread pulpit worship, and almost all family worship":

"... you assume the office of preaching the Gospel, because you are bred up in humane learning, which the Scriptures doth not countenance in the least, and while you doe it, you persecute the Gospell itselfe, which is the Lord, or Spirit within; and you teare in peeces the declarations of the Gospel, which is the Scriptures, by your various expositions, and so all you doe, is but to trouble the children, and to throw durt upon their food. Moses, a shepheard; Amos a fruit gatherer; Apostles fishermen; Christ a carpenter; such as the Lord made preachers, not such as made themselves preachers, that had biggest purses."⁷

In January 1649, as social evil is centered for Winstanley in private property and social salvation in communal ownership, his escalades against the clergy find him assailing the enemy fortress on economic grounds:

"... you selfish, tyth-taking Preachers, and all others that preaches for hire, with all covetous professors, take notice that you are the *Judahs* that betraid Christ, and the *Pharisees* that put him to death ... those that are called Preachers, and great professors that runs a hearing, seeks for knowledge abroad in Sermons, in books and Universities, and buyes it for money, as Simon Magus would have done, and then delivers it out again for money, for a 100 l. or 200 l. a year. And those men speak that from an inward testimony of what they have seen and heard from the Lord, are called by these buyers and sellers, Locusts, factious, blasphemers, and what not, as the lan-

⁵"The Breaking of the Day of God," *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷"The Saints Paradise," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

guage of Pulpits runs, but the Lord wil whip such traders out of his Temple."⁸

Toward the close of this same tract, however, Winstanley recalls the time when as a dutiful Anglican he never questioned the "learned Clergy," whose words were "like a pleasant song to me." Though he stands condemned by the priests who once praised him as a godly man, he remembers when he was under the same delusions of darkness which motivate them to persecute him. Hence, he looks upon them "with the eye of pitty and love . . . waiting upon the great restorer of all things, till he manifest himself in them, and then we shall become one againe, and never be divided."⁹

The realities of clerical ruffianism have rudely shattered this utopian dream as Winstanley pens his four treatises composed during the actual digging and planting on the commons. In the *Watchword to the City of London*, he lashes out against the "Norman-Clergy, oppressing Tith-mungers." For, after purchasing and planting three acres of land from the lord of the manor, the Digger leader's contract was voided through clerical pressure.

"... this was because his Parish Priest, and the Surrey Ministers, and sorry ones too they are that have set up a Lecturer at Cobham for a little time, to preach down the Diggers, have bid the people neither to buy nor sell with us, but to beat us, imprison us, or banish us; and thereby they prove themselves to be members of the Beast that had two horns like a lamb, and yet spake like a Dragon, & so they fulfill that Scripture in Rev. 13.16 that no man might buy and sell, save he that had the mark of the Beast."¹⁰

In *A New Year's Gift*, he complains bitterly of Parson Platt, the preacher at Horsley in Surrey, who ordered the destruction of an old man's house on a cold evening, forcing the elderly couple and their daughter to sleep in an open field.

"Though this Parson Platt preach the Scriptures, yet I'll affirm, he denyes God, Christ, and Scriptures, and knowes nothing of them; for covetousness, pride, and envie hath blinded his eyes. A man knowes no more of righteousness than he hath power to act; and surely, this cruelty of preaching Platt is an unrighteousness act . . . Parson Platt (the Lord of the Manor) will not suffer the Diggers to have a house, (wherein he forgets

⁸"The New Law of Righteousness," Sabine, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 213-214.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁰"A Watch-word to the City of London," *ibid.*, p. 334.

his Master Christ, that is persecuted in naked, hungry, and houseless members) . . ."¹¹

He recounts also the occasion when "divers of the Diggers were carried prisoners into Walton Church, where some of them were struck in the Church by the bitter professors and rude multitude."¹²

The trilogy of clergy, magistracy, and army harassing the passive Diggers stimulated another Winstanley barrage against the confederation of Church and state:

"The Kingly power sets up a Preaching Clergy to draw the People by insinuating words to conform hereunto, and for their pains Kingly power gives them the Tithes: And when the Kingly power hath any Design to lift up himself higher, then the Clergy is to Preach up that Design, as of late in our Wars the Preachers most commonly in their Sermons meddled with little but State matters: and then if People seeme to deny Tythes, then the Kingly power by his lawes doth force the people to paye them; so that there is a confederacie between the Clergy and the great red Dragon: the Sheep of Christ shall never fare well so long as the wolf or red Dragon payes the Shepherd their wages."¹³

This confederacy has caused 600 years of clerical oppression in England, for William the Conqueror promised tithes to the clergy if they would bewitch the people into believing him to be "Gods Anointed over them." This they did and he kept his part of the bargain. The clergy consistently follow this pattern:

" . . . and do we not yet see, That if the Clergie can get Tithes or Money, they will turn as the Ruling power turns, any way: to Popery, to Protestanisme: for a King, against a King, for Monarchy, for State-Government; they cry who bids most wages, they will be on the strongest side, for an Earthly maintenance . . ."¹⁴

In *An Appeale to all Englishmen*, he declares that the ministers enter the ministry without waiting for God's call, that they use Jesus' aphorism, "the laborer is worthy of his hire," to obtain, not the twelve pence a day the other laborers receive, but a yearly benefice of one hundred pounds. His castigation of the clergy in this tract offers one of his most penetrating analyses:

¹¹"A New-Yeers Gift for the Parliament and Armie," Sabine, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 366, 368.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 357-358.

"... They lay claime to Heaven after they are dead, and yet they require their Heaven in this World too, and grumble mightily against the People that will not give them a large temporal maintenance. And yet they tell the poor People, that they must be content with their Poverty, and they shall have their Heaven hereafter. But why may we not have our Heaven here (that is, a comfortable livelihood in the Earth) And Heaven hereafter too, as well as you, God is no respecter of Persons."¹⁵

An Humble Request indicts the lords and gentry who have beaten and abused the Diggers and pulled down their houses. It further indicts clergy, lawyers, and justices, who do not condemn the rioters, but check the poor laborers for idleness, yet protect "the Gentry that never work at all."¹⁶

The treatise further states that Parson Platt and Thomas Sutton in person brought a mob to destroy one poor man's house, "and kikt and struck the poor mans wife, so that she miscarried of her Child, and by the blowes and abuses they gave her, she kept her bed a week." The parson further set fire to six houses, burned them down and ordered furniture and clothing thrown onto the flames, despite the frightened cries of little children and their mothers. Those who did these things were "bewitched by the covetous make-bate Priests, to do this heathenish turkish act." Platt later sent men to frighten the Diggers at night and threaten them with death if they did not leave. When asked by the Diggers why they would deal so cruelly with them, they answered, "because you do not know God, nor will not come to Church." Winstanley's reply reveals his belief in the pharisaism of the organized Church:

"Surely if the God of these men, by their going to Church teach both their preacher and they, to do such cruel deedes; we will neither come to Church, nor serve their God. Mr. Plat in his Sermons can say, live in peace with all men, and love your Enemies; therefore if the Diggers were enemies, he ought to love them in action, but it is a true badge of an hypocrite, to say, and not to do."¹⁷

After the final dispersal of the tiny band of non-resistant Diggers, Winstanley's disillusionment takes him back temporarily to the theological state of mind which characterized his earlier treatises. In *Fire*

¹⁵"An Appeale to all Englishmen," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

¹⁶"An Humble Request to the Ministers of Both Universities and to All Lawyers in Every Inns-A-Court," *ibid.*, p. 432.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 434.

in the *Bush*, he is guided by God's voice to take a message to the churches. Following this theopathic revelation, he is filled with love and pity for them, for they lie under the power of death and bondage, yet know it not. Here he reveals again his penetrating ability to analyze the cleric's assumed piety by proposing a soul-searching test:

"If your actions be full of selfe love, as you may know it by your hastie anger, when your Religion is questioned, and by your snappish bitternesse against those that differs from you; then this darke power is he you worship."¹⁸

Accusing the clergy of worshipping "King Hypocrisie," being the "fourth Beast . . . more terrible and dreadful than the rest," and branding them as "Iudas," he taunts them for making themselves ministers "as a man teaches birds to speake; But they doe not stay till Christ make them, for that will be too long for them to wait, the rich Benefices will be all taken up."¹⁹

His throw-back to theology after the failure of practical religious-communism is seen in his faith that divine retribution will avenge those who maltreated his innocent Diggers. The crafty covetous clerics will be "plucked up, as unsavorie salt."²⁰

Winstanley's final extant work, *The Law of Freedom*, had been done in rough draft in 1650, the year of the Digger defense pamphlets and *Fire in the Bush*, but, apparently planned as a grand finale to a successful Digger movement, was withheld when persecution killed the crusade. After a two-year silence, however, something inspired him to gather up the scattered pages of the manuscript and publish them to quiet the incessant promptings of revelation. Inspiration may have pointed to a middle way between the poor bringing in the new day unaided and the alternative of awaiting divine intervention on their behalf. By appealing to Cromwell's sense of identification with God's will, Winstanley may have thought to see his utopia arrive ahead of eschatological schedule.

In this his most important work, he calls to Cromwell's attention three counts against the clergy: persecution of dissenters after the fashion of bishops and popes; Anglican priests advocating the overthrow of the Commonwealth; and receipt of tithes by the clergy, which, granted by the king, should have been cancelled with the removal of kingly power. Each of these counts was designed to appeal to Cromwell's prejudices,

¹⁸"Fire in the Bush," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 474.

²⁰*Loc. cit.*

which in order were, of course, anti-hierarchy, anti-Anglican, and anti-royalist.

In the final work, he did not soften his blows against the clergy. It is the "whore that sits upon many waters." It is Nahash the Ammonite, who refused to make peace with Israel unless he could put out their right eyes and force them to see by his. It is the Egyptian taskmaster who keeps freemen in bondage. It limits Winstanley's choice for officials in his new Utopia because it has kept the people blinded, sermonizing to "please the sicly minds of ignorant people, to preserve their own riches and esteem among a charmed, befooled and besotted people."²¹

Organized religion is ruled out of the Winstanley theocracy. Such sermons as may be delivered must avoid dogma and theology and deal with practical problems. The pulpit is to be used for educational lectures and political indoctrination favoring the new utopia over the old kingly power. There are no divinity schools in prospect. With chiliastic conviction, he depicts the divinity graduates bemoaning the new day and the fall of their mighty citadel:

"But surely Light is so broke out, that it will cover the Earth, so that the Divinity Charmers shall say, The People will not hear the voyce of our charming, charm we never so wisely: And all the Priests, and Clergy, and Preachers of these spiritual and heavenly things, as they call them, shall take up the lamentation, which is their portion, Alas, alas, that great City Babylon, that mighty City Divinity, which hath filled the whole Earth with her sorcery, and deceived all people, so that the whole world wondered after this Beast, how is it faln, and how is her Judgment come upon her in one hour?"²²

There is little danger of exaggerating the colorful vehemence of Winstanley's anticlericalism. "Ecclesiastical bastardly power got in fornication with the kings of the earth" is strong language. Decapitation, hanging, and shooting in the utopia of a reformer opposed to the death penalty are heavy punishments. He considers execution condign punishment for murder, adultery, rebellion, buying and selling, kingly private property monopoly, and *preaching*.

Anticlericalism was not unique in Winstanley's England. The Puritans indulged in 17th century McCarthyism, finding, instead of the proverbial "red under every bed," a papist in every dark corner. Their anticlericalism included, too, the Laudian Episcopacy, and was stimu-

²¹"The New Law of Freedom," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 570.

lated, in part, by covetousness toward the rich lands of the State Church. Winstanley was anti-Catholic and anti-Anglican also, but he found that after the initial clerical threat had been removed, there appeared a second like unto it, the Puritans themselves. Winstanley opposed the entire organized Church. He used anti-Catholic and anti-Anglican propaganda to shame the Puritans who were repeating the same evils. And when the Puritans damned the poor to hell, he responded with a denial of predestination, a faith in revelation, the revolutionary heresy that all men would be saved, and the bitter anticlerical attacks we have just reviewed.

Unlike the Puritans, Winstanley did not covet the rich holdings of the churches, but considered them stolen property, looking to their "recovery" from Church and crown and their restoration to the people. He castigated the alliance of the *bourgeoisie-nouveaux riches* with the rising hosts of Puritan clerics. These partners were not one with the Anglican-Royalist coalition, but bore the same lesson for the masses, one more combination of Church and state to preserve the *status quo* and oppress the commoner. The Puritan Church was still on the side of the privileged. A denominational change, unaccompanied by the emancipation of the poor, found Winstanley unswerving in his anticlericalism. As Petegorsky says,

"More outspokenly than anyone else in the century, Winstanley denounced the leaders of organized religion for the support they had given to the oppressors."²³

Winstanley led many people to question whether the founding Carpenter would have recognized the organized Church as being identified with the gospel he had preached 1600 years before. Its heavy holdings in land and gold, its alliance with king, nobility, and landlord, its support of the *status quo*, its depressing of the common man and opposition to reforms on his behalf, all branded the Church as generally opposed to the Galilean who championed the poor and enraged the vested interests of his day.

On the other hand, a word may be said for the sincerity of thousands of clerics in Winstanley's period. Anglicans had sought to force conformity prior to the Civil Wars. Nonconformists suffered persecution and martyrdom in witness to their faith. When the Puritans took over, the tide of persecution was reversed, and devoted Anglicans witnessed under suffering to the quality of their faith. More than three thousand of their ministers lost their livings. Hundreds were imprisoned without

²³Petegorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

trial. Many died in jail. Heavy fines, outbreaks of disease, and shipment to the New World as plantation slaves were among the outrages endured by these Anglican witnesses.

Nonconformists, some years after Winstanley's last tract, suffered in turn during the early years of the Restoration under the Clarendon Code. The same pattern of ejection from livings, imprisonment without trial, disease in the overcrowded jails, and heavy fines was repeated, with the Anglicans now swinging the whip of persecution. Thousands of Englishmen before and after Winstanley's writings had suffered and died for their faith. Thousands of clergymen had scraped along in the misery of poverty to continue preaching. In spite of organized and consistent efforts to destroy their training schools for the ministry, they continued to turn out more ministers to endure more persecution. Surely, if men continued to enroll in divinity schools in the full knowledge that graduation meant poverty and persecution, they could not have found motivation solely in the prospect of tithes and comfortable livings.

There was evil on both sides of this persecution sea-saw, and Winstanley's attacks on the clergy found justification here, but sincere martyrs on both sides reveal to objective scholarship that his attacks on clergy, divinity school, and Church were extreme.

It must be added that while Winstanley complained bitterly, and with just cause, about the dearth of religious freedom accorded his "Saints," his utopia denied religious freedom to cleric, theologian, and divinity professor. If organized religion is ruled out, then freedom to organize in sects and churches is also ruled out. If sermons may contain no dogma or theology, dealing only with practical problems, then, presumably, no preacher may discuss the Trinitarian-Unitarian conflict, literal versus allegorical interpretations of the Bible, dates, authorship, and background of books in the canon, eschatology, or the developing ideas in the Bible, such as the progressively changing attitude toward God, man, and immortality from the Pentateuch to the Gospels. Designating the pulpit for educational lectures and political indoctrination favoring the incumbent commonwealth is a distinct limitation of religious freedom. For, while his own all-sufficient theocracy, carried to a logical eventuality, eliminated any need for sacerdotalism, a non-theopathic Briton might feel a continued need for Church, clergy, and divinity school. Since institutional religion plays no part in the new utopia, such individuals must in great degree find religious freedom denied them. Finally, in the matter of religious liberty, there is room for difference of opinion as to whether or not clerics should preach and pray without salary. In Winstanley's body politic, such difference of opinion

is not permitted, for anyone making a trade of preaching and prayer is to be executed!

A contemporary of Winstanley, Roger Williams, in 1644, while in England securing a charter for his colony from Parliament, set forth the genuine principles of religious liberty in his polemic, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*. In this dialogue with Truth, he places on the lips of the latter these words:

"I acknowledge that to molest any person, Jew or Gentile, for either professing doctrine, or practicing worship merely religious or spiritual, it is to persecute him, and such a person (whatever his doctrine or practice be, true or false) suffereth persecution for conscience."

Both Williams and Winstanley saw and deplored the combination of Church and state, the godlessness of religious persecution, and the evils of organized religion, but Williams was willing to permit religious freedom to those he considered wrong. Winstanley's anticlericalism denied men freedom to follow the ministry as a salaried profession, to organize institutional bodies, or to preach dogmatics and theology.

Petegorsky, in this matter, interprets the fortieth law of the commonwealth with a rather favorable twist on Winstanley's behalf:

"There was to be complete freedom of religious belief; and no one could be punished for opinion. Anyone, however, who attempted to masquerade under the cloak of religion in order to acquire land or wealth would be put to death:

'He who professes the service of a righteous God by preaching and prayer, and makes a Trade to get the possessions of the Earth, shall be put to death for a Witch and Cheater.'"²⁴

It seems to the present writer that Winstanley is not punishing masqueraders, but aims the law at *all* professional clerics. Sincere professional preachers will be executed along with the masqueraders. Thus there is *not* to be complete freedom of religious belief; and men *can* be punished for opinion, given, in fact, the extreme penalty.

Winstanley and his successors have said just about everything that is to be said for the elimination of the organized Church and the professional cleric. But when they have said it, we must return to the fact that either or both can only be eliminated by persuasion, *not* by law and execution, if religious freedom is to remain.

It would be grossly unfair to Winstanley, however, to close the study here. For patience and long-suffering were characteristic virtues

²⁴Petegorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

of the Digger leader. After the raids upon the crops just coming to harvest, the tearing down of the Digger houses, the smashing of their wagons, the beating of their cows, the clubbing of men into unconsciousness, the brutal kicking of a pregnant mother, and after the crowning injustice of having legal action brought not against the clergy-inspired-mobsters but against the hapless and harmless Diggers, Winstanley might have given up the way of love and started organizing a violent revolution on the pattern of the Fifth Monarchy Men. Instead, he rededicates his experiment and his body to the purpose of God, expresses love to enemies as well as friends, asks for the establishment of God's power in him and God's will for him. And, having done all this, in a poignant theodicy, concludes:

"These and such like sweet thoughts dwelt upon my heart as I went along, and I feel myself now like a man in a storm, standing under shelter upon a hill in peace, waiting till the storm be over to see the end of it . . ." ²⁵

And the end of the storm is not yet. But in the land where he and his tiny band once digged and cultivated the common wasteland, the policy of nationalization has made considerable strides after three hundred years. It is possible today in Winstanley's land to believe in the Christian ethic and the socialization of the natural resources, even as he believed that true religion must be expressed in economic action.

The clergy, Church, and divinity school of his day did not seem to him to be sufficiently concerned for such economic action. They permitted and actually joined in the brutalities against his Diggers. This, among other things, made them seem worse than superfluous to one who had found the "Inner Light." They appeared to him to be dangerous protectors of an unjust *status quo*. They seemed to him to be practicing selfishness and hypocrisy. They were failing to practice the Christian ethic, holding property in large amounts at the general expense of the people, and "preaching up" the king, the nobility, or the property owner.

That there was basis for his criticism is undeniable, but the mere existence of evil and hypocrisy and greed in the Church does not offer an adequate explanation for Winstanley's anticlericalism. Before his business failure, he had worshipped in one of the most conservative of the *status quo* Churches, the Anglican. The sermons of the clergy had been like pleasant songs, and the "songs" were "sung" by divinity

²⁵"A Watch-word to the City of London," Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

school graduates, who had become professional preachers in an organized Church combined with the state!

It was not until after the bankruptcy event in the Winstanley process that his attitude toward the organized Church underwent the revolutionary reversal which characterized all his writings. It therefore seems possible, to put it no higher, that the business failure of an Anglican cloth merchant during the First Civil War in seventeenth-century England may have given us the extreme but colorful, fearless, and sometimes justified anticlericalism of Digger leader, Gerrard Winstanley.

John Maunsell and Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln

An Episode in the Ecclesiastical History of Thirteenth Century England

By Joseph O. Baylen*

THE emergence of the national state in England during the thirteenth century was to a great extent the result of the determination of Henry III (1207-1272) to be the absolute master of his own house. Henry's assumption of authority in June 1232, after a regency during his minority, 1216-1232, gave rise to an administrative revolution of great consequence, which altered the machinery of government to fit new needs and brought into prominence a new type of civil servant, the royal clerk.¹ With this new reform, royal government became more personal and professional under the direction of the able and ambitious clerk, who was both servant and adviser to the king.² To free himself from the yoke of the barons, Henry III deliberately sought to create with this official class a bulwark against the dominating barons. It was a well conceived plan "to rule through the great household officers and make the exchequer, the greatest office of the realm, dependent upon the [clerk as the] domestic servant of the state."³ The social status and nationality of these royal servants of the lower clergy meant little to the king, who sought only "able men for intimate duties."⁴ Their rewards were power, prestige, and wealth through lucrative Church livings.

The personality of Henry III also contributes to an understanding of the rise of the clerk as an instrument of royal policy in Angevin Eng-

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¹Thomas Frederick Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England. The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals* (Manchester, England, 1920-33), I, 118-19.

²F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward. The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), I, 293.

³Tout, *op. cit.*, I, 222.

⁴Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 293; Faith Thompson, *The First Century of the Magna Carta: Why it persisted as a document* (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 20.

land. The heir of John Lackland was an enigma of nobility, piety, and pettiness.⁵ While Henry yearned to be a great man, whose every word would be a command instantly obeyed, his suspicious nature and jealous disposition made him amenable to suggestion and an unstable personality. He had a "constant need for someone on whom he could lean" for ideas and their execution.⁶ The king remembered well the bitter treatment he had received at the hands of the barons during his minority, and turned for counsel to ambitious clerks who willingly did his will and catered to his idiosyncracies. Henry appreciated in others those qualities that he himself lacked. He found in his clerk, John Maunsell, "a man prudent [and] circumspect,"⁷ who could execute his sovereign's ambitious plans by giving them substance and carrying them through with thoroughness, dispatch, and the least injury to parties adversely concerned.

John Maunsell was the son of a renegade deacon, who had "resumed his orders" after tiring of his wife and offspring and securing the nullification of his marriage. As a result of this action, the issue of the union were declared illegitimate.⁸ In spite of the stigma of bastardy, Maunsell became one of the king's trusted counsellors and a respected and envied man of affairs, who made himself indispensable to Henry and his plan to rule independently of baronial control. Yet it would be a mistake to presume that Maunsell was a mere creature of the royal will, since Henry III, in spite of his constant need for support, was not one to select nonentities as his intimate advisers. The royal clerk was a shrewd and calculating personality, who did not hesitate to use his powerful position to accumulate numerous Church livings and great wealth in land and privilege. It was Maunsell's pluralism, opulence, and occupation with secular affairs that brought him into conflict with the most zealous reformer and foremost scholar in thirteenth century England.

Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253),⁹ was vigorously opposed to the preoccupation of the clergy with secular work for-

⁵Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 156-57.

⁶N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (New York, 1947), p. 17.

⁷John Weaver, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1767), p. 70.

⁸W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, editors, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* (London, 1893-1902), I, 362-63; H. R. Luard, editor, *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancta Albani, Chronica Majora* (London, 1872-73), V, 129, 749. Hereafter cited as *Chronica Majora*.

⁹Josiah Cox Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), pp. 135-38.

bidden by canon law,¹⁰ and possessed the moral courage to inveigh with fierce abandon against the most glaring clerical abuses.¹¹ The holding of benefices in plurality, even when allowed by a papal dispensation, was particularly distasteful to Grosseteste.¹² He was very careful in his clerical presentations to examine the presentee's educational and moral fitness, and expected the same of his episcopal colleagues, the king, and even the pope.¹³ Such sincerity was bound to bring the bishop into conflict with the generous opportunism of Henry III and the greed of his clerks.

When the prebend of Thame in the see of Lincoln became vacant in 1241, Grosseteste presented it to an old acquaintance, Master Simon of London, a scholar who was well qualified to hold the position.¹⁴ The king, in the meantime, had secured papal approval to "provide" Maunsell with the prebend as a reward for special services performed for the crown.¹⁵ Grosseteste was highly incensed by Henry's arbitrary action and, more particularly, by Maunsell's high-handed methods in occupying the prebend. Maunsell now found himself actively opposed by the bishop's bailiff who tried to eject him.¹⁶ Thereupon, the clerk appealed to the king for protection, and he immediately ordered the local sheriff to support Maunsell and his retainers. An altercation occurred between the bishop's bailiff and the king's men, in which the bailiff was placed at a disadvantage and found himself in the position of being charged with disturbing the king's peace.¹⁷

Grosseteste waxed indignant with the king for his interference in a purely ecclesiastical matter on behalf of Maunsell, and dispatched messengers to the royal court with a strong letter reproaching Henry for his conduct and warning him to "at once make amends for his enormous transgressions lest . . . God, in His anger, . . . convert [royal]

¹⁰H. R. Luard, editor, *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis Epistolae* (London, 1861), pp. 27-28. Hereafter cited as Grosseteste, *Epistolae*. See also Article XVI in the summary of decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) in Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (London, 1934), pp. 180-83.

¹¹Cf. Marjorie M. Morgan, "The Excommunication of Grosseteste in 1243," *English Historical Review*, LVII (April, 1942), 244-50.

¹²Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, pp. 241-42.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 303.

¹⁴*Chronica Majora*, IV, 152; F. N. Davis, et al., editors, *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend Episcopi Lincolnensis, A. D. MCCLVIII-MCCXXIX* (Horncastle, 1925), p. vi. Hereafter cited as *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend*.

¹⁵*Chronica Majora*, IV, 152; Abbot Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church* (London, 1910), p. 197.

¹⁶C. W. Foster, editor, *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church at Lincoln* (Hereford, 1931-33), I, 182.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

smiles into tears."¹⁸ The bishop protested against the king's assumption that he could appoint anyone to a Church living in any diocese without the knowledge or approval of the respective diocesan bishop "even when papal authority was relied upon."¹⁹

Henry III, always sensitive to alleged threats to his royal prerogative, heatedly defended Maunsell and the action of the royal sheriff by refusing to heed the bishop's ultimatum on the grounds that an appeal had been lodged with the pope on behalf of the clerk.²⁰ The king was determined to stand firm because he was convinced that it was a question of asserting his power over excessively bold prelates who were well known for their opposition to his policy of personal government. Thus Henry angrily informed Grosseteste that Maunsell had obtained the prebend by an authority lawfully assigned to him by the pope, and cautioned the bishop against "attempting anything to the prejudice of the royal dignity" until the dispute was judged by the Roman curia.²¹

At this point, Walter Gray, archbishop of York, interceded to resolve the impasse between his king and the stubborn bishop of Lincoln by upholding the bishop's right to refuse to provide Maunsell with the prebend. He reminded Henry that it was "absurd" for the clerk "to push himself into the possession of any church without consulting . . . the will of the diocesan bishop. . . ." ²² The archbishop, however, sought to soothe the king by suggesting a compromise whereby Grosseteste, "considering the merits of . . . [Maunsell], . . . a circumspect and sufficiently learned man," would at the king's request "be easily influenced to provide [the clerk] with as good, if not a richer benefice. . . ." ²³ In an attempt to play upon the easily excited fears of the pious king, the prelate begged Henry to reconsider his stand, since Grosseteste was prepared "to pronounce the anathema against . . . those who [would] . . . injure or encroach upon his church." ²⁴

Maunsell, meanwhile, seeing that he had overreached himself, prudently asked the king to withdraw the presentation. He did not wish to see his career become a pawn in the hands of the fickle monarch faced with defeat, or to further excite the latent hostility of the higher clergy against his position at the royal court. The clerk, therefore, told his royal

¹⁸Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p. 1; *Chronica Majora*, IV, 153.

¹⁹Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²⁰*Chronica Majora*, IV, 153.

²¹*Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Records Office, 1232-1247* (London, 1893-1913), p. 257. My italics.

²²*Chronica Majora*, IV, 153.

²³*Ibid*; J. S. Brewer, editor, *Monumenta Franciscana* (London, 1858-82), I, 185-86.

²⁴*Chronica Majora*, IV, 153.

master that he would "give way patiently" rather than be "the cause of any dispute or disturbance between illustrious personages."²⁵ This self-effacing withdrawal was cleverly concluded by Maunsell with the conviction: "God will . . . provide for me at His good pleasure, *as long as you are alive.*"²⁶

While Henry as a result of the archbishop's advice and Maunsell's withdrawal postponed action, Grosseteste, unaware of the clerk's surrender of the disputed prebend, hotly repaired to London fully prepared to excommunicate the clerk and all "disturbers of his church and dignity."²⁷ Maunsell, upon receiving the news of the bishop's intention, again hurried to the king to anticipate Grosseteste by resigning all claim to the prebend of Thame rather than become "the cause of further disagreement . . . or scandal"²⁸ Henry, now fully aware of the seriousness of Grosseteste's threat and alarmed lest the venerable bishop further embarrass him by placing the see of Lincoln under the interdict, quickly took advantage of Maunsell's resignation gracefully to retreat from his untenable position. The king thus avoided a major conflict which might have become a rallying point for a reaction on the part of the prelates and barons against his arbitrary rule.

Grosseteste did not carry his victory too far. To erase all bitterness which the quarrel had excited, Grosseteste declared that he was highly "pleased and pacified" with the outcome of the "misunderstanding," and praised the "humility" of both Maunsell and the king as evidence of their devotion to the Church.²⁹ Although the bishop did not end Maunsell's pluralism, or curb the increasingly secular spirit which pervaded the Church as a symptom of the passing of leadership from the Church to the state in England,³⁰ his victory was a warning that the king could not yet dominate the spiritual organization as he presumed to control the state. It was also a notice to Henry that he could not recklessly use the wealth and offices of the Church to reward those who were assisting him to increase his power at the expense of the spiritual and lay barons of the realm. This was especially true in view of the fact that Grosseteste's sympathy for the cause of the barons was always manifest to the king and his loyal clerk.

²⁵*Chronica Majora*, Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p. 1.

²⁶Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p. 1. My italics.

²⁷*Ibid*; Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²⁸Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99; *Chronica Majora*, IV, 153; *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend*, p. xxxix.

²⁹*Chronica Majora*, IV, 153.

³⁰J. R. Strayer, "Laicization of French and English Society in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, XV, (January, 1940), 76, 80.

Maunsell's action added to his stature in the eyes of both the high functionaries of the realm and the king, and he was richly rewarded for his trouble. His refusal to act against the formidable bishop was not only motivated by a concern for his career, but also by a genuine desire to spare Henry the embarrassment and humiliation which would impair his attempts to expand royal power in England. Maunsell was in this sense typical of those *clerici regis* who contributed so much to the growth of a national state in England even at the expense of their spiritual masters.

A Letter of Anthony à Wood to Bishop William Lloyd

By Curt F. Bühler*

IT is a matter of common knowledge that Anthony à Wood,¹ in assembling the materials for his great and perennially useful *Athenae Oxonienses*,² "sent letters of inquiry, from 1681 onwards, all over England and even abroad."³ One such letter, addressed to Dr. William Lloyd,⁴ at that time bishop of St. Asaph, and dated 22 July 1687, is now preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS PML, Royal House of Stuart, IV, 72). A record that this letter was sent appears in the list of his correspondence included in Wood's own diary;⁵ this notice is also duly entered in the printed text of the diary.⁶ Since it is of interest to see Wood's method of working—and his shameless imposition upon the good will and free time of persons of eminence—the letter is printed below. The document is endorsed: "Mr. Antony Wood e Oxoñ 22 Jul. 87"; at the top of the letter there is written in a different (and later)⁷ hand: "To Dr. Wm. Lloyd then Bp. of St. Asaph, afterwards of Worcester." The letter itself reads thus:⁸

May it please your Lordship

*Dr. Bühler is the Keeper of Printed Books, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.—*Editor's note.*

¹For an account of the life of Anthony Wood (or as he later called himself, Anthony à Wood), see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXII, 349-353, hereafter referred to as *DNB*.

²The first edition "London, Printed for Tho. Bennet" appeared in 1691-2; the second in 1721; and the third (quoted here), with the additions of Dr. Philip Bliss, was printed in 1813-20.

³*DNB*, LXII, 351.

⁴For his biography, see *DNB*, XXXIII, 436-9. A. Tindal Hart, *William Lloyd, 1627-1717: Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet* (London, S. P. C. K., 1952) pp. xii, 282. He was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph on 3 October 1680.

⁵The diary was printed by Andrew Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford Historical Society, 1891-1900) 5 vols.

⁶Clark, V, 205, records that Wood entered this note, among other similar memoranda, thus: July 22, F[riday], letter to bishop of St. Asaph for catalogue of deanes and archdeacons of S. Asaph, and deanes of Bangor."

⁷According to *DNB*, XXXIII, 437, Lloyd was translated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry (20 October 1692), and from there to Worcester on 20 January 1700.

⁸The manuscript has been transcribed as follows: the "y" (the surviving form of the Old English *thorn*) is reproduced as "th"; all contractions have been expanded; and superior letters have been brought down to the usual line level.

To understand that there is ready for the press an Historie of Oxford writers & Bishops, to which will be added a part called Fasti, wherein will be set downe the names of all noted persons that have either taken degrees in the said Universitie, or have had them conferred on them as honorary. Among them, will be put all such that have enjoyed Dignities in the Church, as Deanes, Archdeacons, Chanters, Chancellours, &c. Now Sir so it is, that I having little or no knowledge concerning the Dignitaries of your Church of S. Asaph, it is my humble desire that you would be pleased to take so much paines, or get some other prudent person to do it, as to draw up for me a Catalogue of your Deanes, & Archdeacons—If your Registers be imperfect, I shall be contented if the said Catalogues doe commence with the yeare of our Lord 1500 (15 Henry 7) so that they be well termed, I meane that the day & yeare when each person was collated or installed, & whether they came in by death or resignation—

In like manner (pardon my boldness) you may be pleased to let me have the like Catalogue of the Deanes of Bangor, for your Lordship beinge a curious searcher into antiquities, there's no doubt but that you have such a thinge layinge by you, wherein I hope to find the time of death & place of burial of Dr. Griffith Williams Bishop of Ossory; who, tho a Cambridge man, yet he was originally of Oxon—

There is no doubt but your Lordship will be ready to say, that this will be a great trouble to you; but then considering that it is for a public work & for the honor of our common mother, there's no man of a generous spirit but will be ready to give his assisting hand towards it—So craving your Lordships pardon, I desire to remaine

Your most humble servant

ANTHONY WOOD.

From my Lodging neare Merton
College in Oxford
22 Jul. 87

A few observations on the contents of the letter seem desirable. In Wood's printed account, we read that Bishop Lloyd was indeed an ardent antiquarian; from him Wood might well have expected to get the details he asked for, if he were ever to get such information from anyone. Wood remarks:⁹

He [Bishop Lloyd] also formerly took much pains in compiling an *History of the Ch. of England*, but being then, and more

⁹*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 719.

afterwards, engaged in the service thereof in a station that afforded him very little leisure to finish it, he set Dr. Gilb. Burnet to write it, and furnished him with a curious collection of his own observations, so that in some sort the work of Dr. Burnet may be accounted his, for besides the materials, he corrected it with a most critical exactness to the last finishing thereof.¹⁰

With such a store of information in hand, it would seem to have been a simple thing for Bishop Lloyd to provide the necessary entries for his own church. Whether or not Lloyd also possessed full details as to the deans of Bangor, he certainly failed to supply the correct information as to the death of Bishop Griffith Williams.¹¹ Wood prints the following notice in his work, under the year 1672:¹²

At length this good old Bishop giving way to fate in Feb. or the beginning of March, in sixteen hundred seventy and one, was buried in his cathedral church at Kilkenny.¹³

We are, however, reliably informed that Williams died on 29 March 1672, and was buried, as Wood correctly points out, in the cathedral at Kilkenny.¹⁴

Indeed it is not at all certain that Wood ever received the details which he had asked Bishop Lloyd to furnish him. An entry in his diary, under date 7 January 1687/8,¹⁵ informs us that Wood "reminded the bishop of S. Asaph about my queries, he being then at Suningwell." Again on 14 March 1690/1, a year before the appearance of the first volume of the *Athenae Oxonienses*, Wood again noted in his diary¹⁶ that he had inquired "[by] Mr. [George] Smalridge to [William Lloyd] bishop [of S.] Asaph about b[ishop] Williams." However, as we have already seen, Wood in this case certainly failed to get the information he sought. It would be interesting to learn how much of the *Athenae Oxonienses* was obtained by similar requests and what treatment was generally accorded to Wood's appeals for information.

¹⁰For Gilbert Eurnet, later bishop of Salisbury, see *DNB*, VII, 394-405. His *History of the Reformation* first appeared in 1679 (Wing B5797).

¹¹Williams was dean of Bangor from 1634 till his death; for his biography, see *DNB*, LXI, 401-3.

¹²In England until 1 January 1752, the legal year began on the 25th of March, the new practice becoming effective as the result of an act of Parliament (Stat. 24 Geo. II. c. 23). In consequence of this, all days between January 1 and March 25 prior to 1752 bear the legal and the historical dates (thus 1670/1). For further details, see Sir Harris Nicholas, *The Chronology of History* (London, 1833) pp. 38-40.

¹³*Athenae Oxonienses*, III, 959.

¹⁴*DNB*, LXI, 403.

¹⁵Clark, V, 251.

¹⁶Clark, V, 349.

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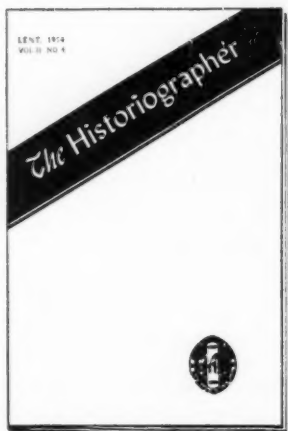
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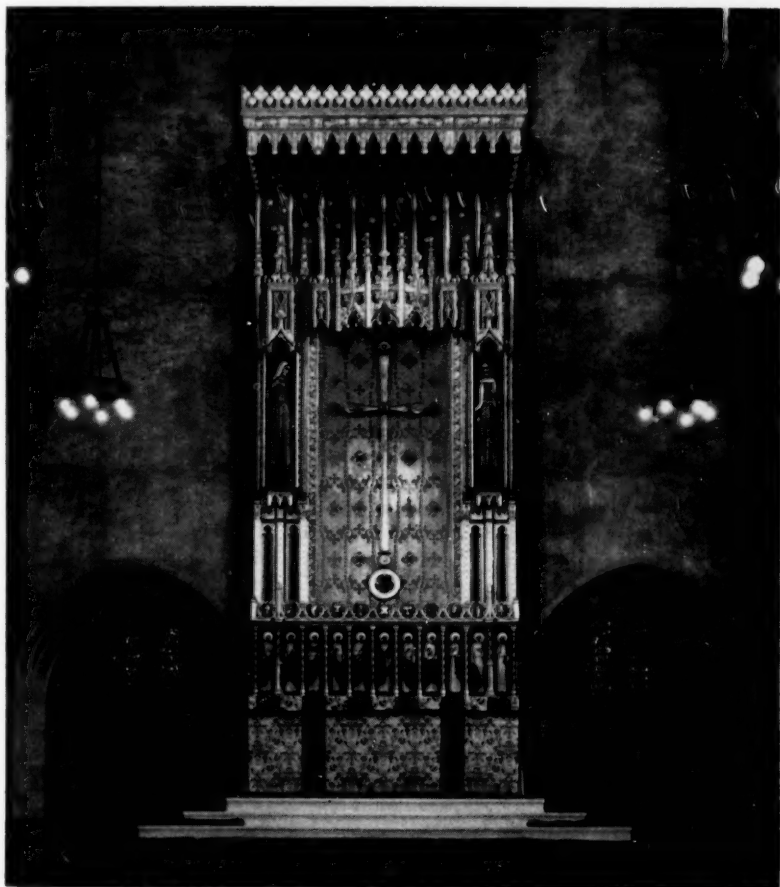
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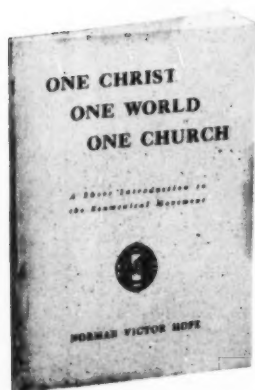
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